TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN AN ORISSAN TEMPLE

ABOUT THE BOOK

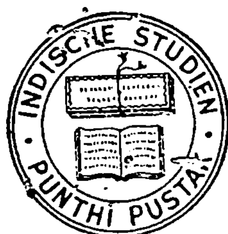
The Present study is a social anthropological enquiry to find out the socio-economic, political, ritual educational and familiar changes among the various categories of temple functionaries particularly after the establishment of the new township in 1947 for the state capital in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple town Bhubaneswar. Attention has also been paid to discuss the interrelationship among the various categories [illegible] in the temple community in the sacred and secular spheres.

The book has been divided into eight chapters discussing in detail about the Lingaraj temple community, Management of the temple and its estate. Temple rituals and its changes, Socio-economic life and changes among the Temple priests and the changes in the Nijogas (Caste Councils) related to the Temple.

ORISSAN STUDIES PROJECT NO. 9

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN AN ORISSAN TEMPLE

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Dedicated

to

My Parents

Shri DINABANDHU MAHAPATRA

Sm. HARAMANI DEVI

PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of my doctoral dissertation titled, "The Lingaraj Temple, Its structure and change Ca. 1900-1962" submitted in the Utkal University in 1971. My interest in studying the Lingaraj Temple as a social and religious institution developed while I was a student in the Post-Graduate Department of Anthropology, Utkal University. During this period (1961-63), I was introduced to Dr. Cora Du Bois, Zemurray Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University, U.S.A. who was then doing a preliminary survey in Bhubaneswar for her proposed research project.

After my M.A. in Anthropology in 1963, I undertook a systematic research on the Lingaraj Temple complex under the supervision of Professor Cora Du Bois as an associate in the Harvard-Bhubaneswar Research Project. I am indebted to her for her scholarly guidance. Financial assistance for this research was also given by her from a U.S. National Science Foundation Grant (No. GS-1014) placed at her disposal. Therefore, I extend my sincere gratitude to her. I am equally grateful to the University Grants Commission, New Delhi for their financial Assistance for writing the thesis, when I was a U.G.C. Research fellow in the P.G. Department of Anthropology, Utkal University.

The present study is a social anthropological enquiry to find out the socio-economic, political, ritual, educational and familial changes among the various categories of temple functionaries particularly after the establishment of the new township in 1947 for the State Capital in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple town Bhubaneswar. I have tried my best in this treatise to define the Lingaraj Temple complex as a community and have discussed in detail the structure and functioning of this community. Attention has also been paid to discuss the inter-relationship among the various categories of members in the temple community in the Sacred and Secular spheres. Not only I have described the various categories of temple functionaries and officials in details but also have shown their inter-relationship among the different gods and goddesses who are conceived of as members

in the Temple community. This study also explores the interaction between priests, Gods and goddesses in the sacred and secular domain and highlights their analogy with secular life.

The book has been divided into 8 (eight) chapters discussing in detail about the Lingaraj Temple community, Management of the temple and its estate, Temple rituals and its changes, Socio-economic life and changes among the Temple priests and the changes in the Nijogas (Caste Council) related to the Temple.

My thankfulness goes to a number of friends, institutions, informants and officials without whose help and co-operation the present endeavour would have been impossible.

My colleagues in the Harvard-Bhubaneswar Research Project, Dr. James M. Freeman, Dr. Richard & Doris Taub, Dr. David Miller, Dr. Peter Grennel, Dr. Richard and Candy Shweder deserve due credit for their timely help and for valuable suggestions.

During my association with the Orissa Research Project, sponsored by the University of Heidelberg and Freiburg, West-Germany as an Indian Member in the Research team, Professer Ulrich Schneider, Director and Dr. Hermann Kulke, Member showed their keen interest in the progress of the work and made available several facilities to me at the time of the final submission of the thesis. Therefore, I take this opportunity to thank them for their help and co-operation. My thanks are also due to Sri K. P. C. Patro, who took all the pains in typing the entire manuscript and to Sri P. C. Singh, artist for the various line drawings. I am thankful to Sri Fani Chatterjee, Photographer for the photographs included in this book. My wife Prema and children Madan, Mahendra, Minati and Mahesh deserve my thanks for their encouragements throughout their research project.

Acknowledgements are gratefully made to the authors of books, journals articles, referred to in this work. My thanks are also due to the Temple priests, officials and Nijogas without whose help and co-operation the present

study would not have been realised. Lastly, I have the pleasure in recording my appreciation of the services rendered by Sri S. K. Bhattacharyya, proprietor, M/s Punthi Pustak in the production of this book.

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ABBREVIATIONS

N.A.C.—Notified Area Council

A.S.O.I.—Archaeological Survey of India

O.H.R.E.Act.—Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act

A.M.P.A.—Ancient Monuments Protection Act

E.C.—Endowment Commissioner

A.C.—Assistant Commissioner of Endowments

J.A.S.B.—Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal

J.A.A.S—Journal of Asian and African Studies

J.I.S.C.—Journal of Indian Science Congress

J.R.A.S.—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

J.R.A.I.—Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute

J.A.S.—Journal of Asiatic Society

G.O.I.P.—Government of India Publications

G.O.P.—Government of Orissa Publications

CONTENTS

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Bhubaneswar, the present capital of Orissa, as a political and cultural centre has seen the rise and fall of several major dynasties. As a cultural centre, it included an area, much wider than the one occupied by the present Temple town. "A speciality of the culture that grew up here lies in its remarkable continuity and the tenacity with which it survived through various vicissitudes. Cultural and religious centres have sprung up elsewhere, but they have vanished within few centuries of their existence or have now served their links with the past". (Panigrahi 1961 : 177-8)

PURANIC IDENITTIES

In the Vāna Purana, the antiquity of this site has been traced to the age of Mahābhārat, in which it is allegedly referred to as the "Śāmbhava Bana" or the "Forest of Śiva". The Vāna Purana narrates the pilgrimage of the five Pandav brothers from Ganga Sagar to the Mahendra mountain through Utkal. In some puranas, like, Śiva Purāna, Brahmānda Purana and Brahmā Purana, compiled in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods, this holy place is called the "Ekāmra Bana" or "Ekāmra Kshetra", dotted with temples dedicated to Śiva. In the 6th century, Bhubaneswar became the chief seat of Śaivism in Utkal due to vigorous activities of the yogis of the Pasupat cult, who established a centre at this place. During the rule of the Ganga emperors in Utkal (1150-1435) this sacred place was designated as "Kruttibāsa kataka" or the city of Śiva, and was regarded as one of the five important cities of the Orissa empire. With the establishment of the Muslim supremacy over northern India, when the importance of Kasi (modern Varanasi) as the chief seat of Śaivism began in decline, Bhubaneswar, with its steadily increasing number of Śiva temples, came to be regarded as the Hidden Kasi (Gupta Kasi) by the Purana writers of India.

MAJOR HISTORIC EVENTS

Ancient Orissa has been mentioned as Kalinga, Odra, Kongada, Utkal and Mahakantara in the epics and the puranas. The reliable political history of Orissa begins with the rule of the Nanda emperors of Magadha. The

Nanda rule was short lived as they were dethroned by Chandragupta Maurya. Kalinga did not form a part of Chandragupta's empire, when he succeeded to the throne. It was Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, who conquered Orissa for the first time in the history of the land.

The invasion of Kalinga by Asoka in 261 BC, was an epoch making event in the history of the country. A great war was fought at the foot of the Dhauli hill, situated about 3 miles south-east of the Temple town Bhubaneswar. The horrors of this war are described in a rock edict at this place. It was from this place, Asoka became a staunch Buddhist and spent his whole life for the preaching and spread of the religion.

A second important phase, in the history of the state began with the invasion of Kharavela. The date of this emperor is still a matter of debate. Some however place him in the middle of the 1st century BC. The rule of this emperor has been inscribed in the Hatigumpha cave of the Udayagiri hill located about 5 miles from the Bhubaneswar town. This conquest of Kalinga by Kharavela was essentially a religious war of revenge, and he recovered the Jain cult object taken away by the Nandas. Under the patronage of Kharavela, the twin hills of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, became a strong centre of Jainism. According to Mitra (1961), Buddhism declined in Bhubaneswar due to the growing influence of the Śaiva Pasupat sect, who established a centre at this place in the 6th century.

The history of Orissa, for several centuries after Kharavela was extremely obscure. So, also, is the history of Bhubaneswar. But Mitra (1961) states, that, it was not obscure in the field of archæology. A substantial part of Orissa came under the hegemony of the imperial Guptas for some time in the 5th century AD. Following the Gupta period several large and small dynasties flourished in Orissa, the most important of which was the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongada.

During the 9th and the 10th centuries, a powerful dynasty known as Bhaumakara ruled over Utkal. The Soma or the Keshari kings succeeded the Bhaumakaras. During the Kesharis, the art and architecture of the country thrived. In this connection Mitra (1961) notes, that the art and architecture with a few exceptions were at the absolute service of the Śaiva and the Sakta cults till the ingress of Vaisṇavism in the thirteenth century. Thus, during the period several temples were constructed in Bhubaneswar.

The Gangas and the Suryavamsi dynasties successively ruled over Utkal after the Kesharis. During this period, the Sun Temple at Konarka was built by Narasimha Dev I. The Surya rule in Orissa came to an end with the death of Prataprudra Dev. Orissa maintained her political hegemony over a territory extending from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south, during this period. Chodaganga Dev who conquered Utkal was a great patron of Vaisnavism and constructed Jagannath Temple at Puri. From this time onwards the religious centre of gravity in Orissa shifted from Bhubaneswar to Puri.

Orissa lost her independence in 1568, being almost the last Hindu kingdom of India to fall to the Muslims. The Mughal rule in Orissa lasted till 1740. In 1751, the Marathas succeeded the Mughals and rules Orissa for more than half a century, when they yielded to the British in 1803.

The British selected the northern coast of present Orissa as a suitable sphere for commercial enterprise but not as administrative centre. During the British regime the name of Bhubaneswar was well known in the outside world. The growth of modern interest in the antiquities of Orissa can be dated from Hunter (1872), Mitra (1880) and Stirling (1904). For example :

> "G. F. Cockburn succeeded E. A. Samuells as a Commissioner in the middle of October 1856. Samuells and Cockburn tried to conserve the antiquities of Bhubaneswar" (Mukherjee 1964 : 182).

With the visit of Lord Curzon in 1904, attention was given to the preservation of the ancient monuments in Bhubaneswar. "Lord Curzon saw Bhubaneswar temples and ordered for the immediate renovation of the Lingaraj Temple" (Mukherjee 1964 : 405). The construction of the Howrah-Madras railway line and the establishment of a branch of Rama Krishna Mission at Bhubaneswar (1919) drew further attention to the locality.

Prior to the establishment of Orissa as a separate province the Oriya speakers had been divided between the then Bihar, Bengal, Central provinces and Madras presidency. The Oriyas pressed their claims for a separate province which came into being in 1936. In 1948, after the merger of the 26 princely states Orissa assumed a politically coherent shape. The feudatory chiefs who had been patrons of the Temple as well as of the functionaries (Sevakas), ceased to be so, after the merger of their territories and the loss of their previous power, glory and wealth. Prior to accession, when the rajas visited the Temple, they were received cordially by the priests as well as the

public and the Temple compound was ceremonially cleaned (dhokaḷa) by the priests on duty. The visit of the rajas to the Temple usually resulted in cash gifts to the priests as well as to the Temple funds. It is they who had helped generously in the upkeep of the Temple Endowment. For instance: the feudatory chiefs and the rajas contributed a sum of Rs. 62,674 for the restoration of Parvati and Lingaraj Temples during the years 1925-29. In addition to this, a sum of Rs. 73,423 was also granted from the Government treasury. The then rajas and the feudatory chiefs donated cash gifts, treasurers, textiles as well as lands on auspicious occasions.

As a result of the accession of the princely states both Temple and the priests have been losers economically.

After India's independence, State programmes for development were undertaken. With establishment of the new schools and colleges both technical and non-technical, many kinds of professional men have entered the services of the country. With the establishment of the state capital in 1948, 2 miles north of the temple town, Bhubaneswar has been increasingly connected by road and by air with the other parts of the country. The Temple has benefitted greatly by the rise in the land values. With the establishment of Universities, colleges, schools in old and new Bhubaneswar, the children of the Temple priests have had access to modern schooling. For example, by 1962, there were 2 engineers, 1 M.A., 2 medical graduates and 20 arts and science graduates and 90 matriculates trained from among different groups of Temple servants whereas there were only 3 matriculates in 1900. In addition, 40 had taken to secular occupations like shop keeping, civil service etc.

WHO IS LINGARAJ ?

Lingaraj, the presiding deity in the Temple is a lingam. The lingam is a natural unshaped stone. However, it rests on a Sakti[3] which has been carefully and traditionally shaped (Photo 1). Lingaraj also known as "Harihar", "Kruttibasa" is a Swayambhu (natural born or self established) lingam. Such lingams are found in sixty-eight places in different parts of India, among which Bhubaneswar is one. "If the traditions recorded in the Ekamrâ Purana are to be believed they indicate that the Deity was originally under a mango tree and it was not seen as a lingam in the first two ages, Satya and Treta. In the Dwapara and Kali ages it revealed itself as a lingam but had no temple" (Quoted from J.R.A.S.B., Vol. XV, pp. 114ff by Panigrahi 1961 : 219).

DUAL NATURE OF THE DEITY

Strictly speaking, Lingaraj, also called "Tri-Bhubaneswar" and "Harihar", is not a Śiva but a combination of Visnu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara). A careful look shows a natural cleavage on the lingam which marks its dual nature. Furthermore, the Deity is decorated with Bela (aegleous marmalous) and Tulasi (Ocimum sanctum) leaves, which are favourites to Śiva and Visnu respectively. The festivals and rites of the Deity reveal this dual aspect of Lingaraj. It is not known exactly when Lingaraj assumed this dual nature. To illustrate : the Swing festival (Dola) and Sun worship (Surya puja) are performed in Visnu temples are also observed in the Lingaraj Temple. A close examination of the Nandi pillar popularly called "Garuda khamba", shows the figures of a Garuda (eagle) and a Nandi (bull), the sacred vehicles of Visnu and Śiva respectively. The flag on the Temple spire is fixed to a Pinaka bow instead of a trident, usually found in Śiva temples. The high class Vaisnavite brahmans do not usually take the food of grace (Mahaprasad) of Śiva temples, whereas in the Lingaraj temple they do, for Lingaraj is a combination of Hari and Hara. All these factors reinforced the view that Lingaraj cult is to be conceived as a synthesis of Śiva and Visnu cults, and the Kshetra as equally sacred to Saivites and Vaisnavites.

CULT OF LINGARAJ

It is necessary to give a clear picture of the terms, "Sect" and "Cult", before describing the Cult of Lingaraj.

Sect and Cult are two different terms found in the domain of religion. The former had a derogatory connotation because it was used by the churches to designate schismatic groups. Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch (cited in Wach: 1962) define Sect as, "a contractual society in distinction to the institutional ecclesiastical body". It may also be defined as and ecclesiastical body adhering to a distinctive doctrine or a leader, whereas a "Cult" covers a wide range and includes the collection of ideas, beliefs, and practices associated with a given divinity or social group. A "Cult" may not be confined only to gods or goddess but also to sacred persons. It is a symbolic presentation as well as an aid to the growth of the tradition among both men and gods. Often, the objects of the cult are associated with the daily life of the celebrants. Cult plays an important part

in the growth of religion. Sacred persons may have their own cults which may be tied to a given place, cover a wide area or be confined to a particular individual or object. The Cult of the Lord Jagannath, Surya Cult, Sakta and Ganapat Cults in Orissa are some of the examples.

In Orissa, there are five major sacred sites (kshetra), such as : Puri, Bhubaneswar, Konarka, Mahābināyak and Jajpur with the associated kshetra, deities Jagannath, Lingaraj, Surya, Ganapati and Biraja respectively. The places named above are the cult centres of the Vaisnavite, Śaivite, Surya, Ganapati and Sakta cults.

The Śaiva cult in Ekāmra kshetra or Bhubaneswar developed with Lingaraj as the cult deity. We do not know when the Kshetra and the Deity emerged. We find in sacred texts that in Satya and Treta ages there was no trace of the lingam but in Dwapara and Kali ages, it revealed as a lingam. In "Ekāmra Chandrika", the Sanskrit text dealing with Lingaraj, it has been stated that the Gauda king Sasanka, a staunch devotee of Śiva, built the first Śiva temple at the site of Tri-Bhubaneswar in the first quarter of the seventh century. Due to the vigorous activities of the yogis of the Pasupat sect, Śiva worshipping reached its height. This sect gave an impetus to temple building for the images of Śiva lingams. In such temples in Bhubaneswar, we find the image of Lakulisha, a saiva teacher, who was the leader of this group. According to Mitra (1961), by the 5th century, the sect seems to have established itself in the Bhubaneswar region This religion had to compete with Buddhism and Jainism which seems to have been the prevailing faith at Bhubaneswar.

But during the Ganga dynasty the religious sphere in Bhubaneswar underwent a radical change. Gangas who were the devotees of Visnu wanted to introduce Vaisnavite elements in the Lingaraj shrine. It is they who constructed the Hall of dance and Hall of offering in the Lingaraj temple. They also added many Vaisnavite fairs, festivals and rituals in the Lingaraj Temple which were foreign to the Saiva Cult. It is during this time that a Vaisnavite image of Garuda (eagle) was placed on the Garuda pillar to the left side of the Nandi bull of Siva. Tulasi leaves were also presented to Lingaraj. Therefore, it is believed that Lingaraj assumed this dual nature from these Ganga kings. This change was not only confined to the Lingaraj Temple but also had its repercussion among the Temple priests. For example : after Lingaraj was conceived to the synthesis

of Hari and Hara, the sacred marks of the priests serving the deity also changed. The Śaivites who marked their forehead with sandal paste in horizontal lines with a big dot in the middle afterwards added a big U with the dot in its middle on the horizontal lines which signified the sacred marks of both Śiva and Visnu.

This cult occupied an important place in the religious life of the people, although it was not followed by people all over India, it still commanded a good measure of devotion from the pilgrims who visited Lord Jagannath at Puri, since Bhubaneswar lies on the way to Puri from the north and west of India. Regionally in Orissa Lingaraj has attracted the awe and devotion of the people. Since Lingaraj was regarded to be the giver of children particularly sons, barren couples underwent several rituals and penance as prescribed by the cult rules. Several auspicious days for fasting and festivals were prescribed in the sacred texts in the annual ritual round of the Deity. For example: on the Prathamastami festival day the barren women bathe in the Papanasini tank and on the day before the car festival (Netrauchhab) in the tank (Marici kunda) located within the precinct of Mukteswar Temple. On all the major festival days such couples fast and break the fast after finishing the prescribed rituals (fire sacrifice, offering etc.) near the Deity.

THE TEMPLE

Traditionally it is believed by the Temple servants that there were one less than one crore[4] (10 million) of temples in the Ekāmra kshetra. In Bhubaneswar today, there are a number of temples of varied sizes and architectural styles along the roads and paths, as also others standing isolated in paddy fields. However no accurate number of the temples still existing in the town is available (Hunter, Vol. 1: 1872: 82 and Panigrahi 1961: 1).

At present, however, there are 20 temples (Appendix 1) in and around Bhubaneswar which are under the control of both the state and central government. In addition, there are a number of temples of varying sizes in and around the town which are not protected and many of which are rapidly disintegrating.

The actual settlements within the larger sacred area[5] immediately prior to the building of the new capital consisted of a few settlements of temple servants and some Bengalis (Mahapatra 1956). In this connection (R. L. Mitra 1963), writing in 1880 said :–

> "For so large an area, the number of houses is small, being only 716 of which 249 belong to Kapileswar. The bulk of these houses are thatched. The masonry houses which include five monasteries, the zemindar's office and a very few dwellings, are partly of rubble stones laid in mortar and plastered The thatched dwellings are of the types common all over the country having mud walls with leaves or straw" (Mitra 1963 100).

(Mitra 1963) observed in the latter half of the 19th century that the brahmans who formed the major bulk of population were all priests and engaged in no trade and lived mainly on what they get from pilgrims (Mitra 1963). There was no road worthy of the name except Badadanda (Grand road). There was no office or public building except a police station, post office, inspection bungalow, dispensary and a middle school. Commercially there was nothing important except a bi-weekly market (Hata) run by the Lingaraj Temple Endowment (Srichandan 1927).

MODERN SITE

Conditions within the sacred boundaries of the Bhubaneswar of Ekamra kshetra altered after the establishment of the new state capital in 1947. A municipality authority called "Notified Area Council" (N.A.C.) was established on September 30, 1952 with an area of 13.07 square miles whose boundaries were :—village of Badagad and Laxmisagar to the east, the national highway excluding the settled portion of Nuapalli and all of Baramunda village to the west, Kapileswar village to the south and the national highway to the north.

These modern secular boundaries of the new town therefore do not coincide with the traditional sacred site discussed in the preceding section as they are smaller in size.

THE NEW CAPITAL

The decision to establish a new capital in Bhubaneswar was adopted in the state legislative assembly on September 30, 1946. The forests of Ramapur,

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LINGARAJ TEMPLE

It is necessary to distinguish between the establishment of Lingaraj as a sacred institution and the present day temple as a social structure. No definite date can be assigned to the Lingaraj Temple. The historians differ even on the date of establishment of the present Lingaraj temple. According to Hunter, the date of establishment of the Lingaraj temple goes back to a period from about 500 to 657 (Hunter, Vol 1, 1872 : 236).

Stirling (1904 : 98) agress with Hunter regarding the date of construction of the Temple. Panigrahi (1961) and Acharya (1923), two historians of the state, differ from Hunter and Stirling but agree on assigning 666 AD as the date of completion of the Temple. Acharya (1923) relying on the palmleaf manuscript of the Jagannath Temple states that, Lalatendu Keshari or Alabu Keshari completed the construction of the Temple.

Bose, etal (1958), in their article have calculated the date of establishment of the Temple to be the middle of the eleventh century. However, the controversy over the dates mentioned above is left to the historians since a resolution of these differences does not come under the purview of the thesis or the competence of the author.

SACRED SITE (Kshetra)

Traditional sanctity was attached not only the Deity and the Temple but to the whole surrounding area (kshetra). The traditional sacred site of Bhubaneswar was much larger than the actual settlement. The boundaries of this holy place (Tirtha) are noted in the Sanskrit texts like Ekamra Chandrika, Swarnadri Mahodaya, as follows :—

> "On the west is Khandagiri, on the east god Kundaleswar in the village named Tankapani, on the north, goddess Balaha, and on the south the Dhauli hill and the Temple of Bahirangeswar" (Banerjee, 1931 7).

It should be noted here that Khandagiri hill is mentioned as Khandachala in Sanskrit texts dealing with the kshetra. According to the sacred texts, this sacred area (kshetra) stretched over a perimeter of 5 krosas or approximately 10 miles with the Temple of Lingaraj at the centre (Diagram No. 1).

Bharatpur and Bhimapur were cleared for the construction of buildings for the new township in Bhubaneswar. On April 14, 1947, the foundation stone of the new state capital was laid by the then premier of the country late Shri Nehru.

The site selected for the new township is situated only 3 miles north west of the Lingaraj shrine. The Howrah-Madras railway line cuts through both the new and the old towns with the railway station in the new capital. Gradually with the influx of population the vacant lands in and around the old town were occupied by the immigrants for residential purposes. The increase in population and the gradual shortage of vacant lands caused land values to a soar. Until 1959, the larger administrative area in which the new capital and Temple town had been included was in the Khurda sub-division. On January 26, 1959 a separate sub-division was established and the administrative functions of this new sub-division were centred in Bhubaneswar. In 1961, the census declared Bhubaneswar as a Class III town with a population of 38,211 compared to its 1951 classification as a Class IV town with a population of 16,512.

METHODOLOGY

The present study was selected by me for the following reasons. Firstly, in the past, the anthropologists were interested only in isolated communities about whom little or nothing was known. But the modern anthropologists are interested increasingly in modern and civilised communities and institutions. Secondly, my training in anthropology aroused my curiosity to study the changes in the sacred institution of Lingaraj Temple. Thirdly, since, I belong to a family of Temple functionaries, I have the privileged access to some data. So, I desired to make a systematic enquiry on the topic. Lastly, an urgent reason for selecting this study was that, such sacred institutions are not only changing but also disappearing. The desire to document this significant sacred institution of traditional Hinduism was thus an important incentive.

Before starting my field work, I referred to the printed and the manuscript sources on the Temple which helped me to increase my knowledge on the sacred complex of Lingaraj.

For collecting data on the topic, I followed the empirical methods of field investigation. At first, I interviewed a number of persons consisting of

elderly Temple functionaries, officials on the services, servants, rituals and festivals etc. of the Temple concerning the past and the present. The informants were promised that they would not be named and several such persons were also re-interviewed to check the accuracy of the materials. After having an idea about the total structure of the Temple, I made both participant and non-participant observations to get a thorough knowledge of what happens in the sacred complex of Lingaraj. As a participant observer, I took part in the rituals and services of the divinity in my capacity as a Temple servant (Sevaka). When I was making a non-participant observation my activities were suspected by a leading group of Temple functionaries who have always been antagonistic to the group of Temple servants, to which I belong. While interviewing the several groups of Temple servants on the different services in the Temple, I was always questioned by my informants, "Are you going to do any betterment for us ?" But this was not pressed further as they came to know that my enquiry was purely academic and not sponsored by the government. My reply however, could not satisfy the Badus due to their traditional rivalry with my own group. Sometimes, while interviewing certain temple priests who always suspected to my work, I did not take down the subject matter of the interview on the spot but wrote it soon afterwards.

Many elderly Badus refused me interviews when they were approached, on the plea of certain personal emergencies As a result, I could not interview some important Badu priests. When I had the opportunity to interview some older Badus, I got only stereotyped replies. Therefore I turned to the younger generation with whom I had good personal relations. Through these younger Badus, I had access to certain data on their nijoga (caste-council).

For this dissertation, the official records and documents of the Lingaraj Temple Endowment were also referred, for which I was permitted by the then Commissioner of Hindu religious Endowments (E.C.), Orissa. On request, the Temple Executive Officer (E.O.) and staff of the Temple office supplied to me all the records of the Endowment at their disposal. I was also permitted by the E.O., to photograph the different rituals and ceremonies in the Temple precinct free of the requisite fee. But, I could not photograph the Lingam in the inner sanctum, as I was forbidden by the priests to do so, on the plea that misfortune may fall on me.

In the last phase of my field work, I interviewed a random sample of 65

Temple priests of different categories to assess the socio-economic and familial changes among them. For this an interview schedule (Appendix 2) was prepared and was pre-tested before the actual interview. For this interview, a preliminary census of the sevaka families was done to select the required sample of persons for the purpose. The respondents were directly asked the questions and the responses were immediately noted down.

At first some important facts in the ritual procedures of the Deity were ommited because of my familiarity with them, which made them appear of little importance. But this was rectified later on, when the importance of such data was realised.

CONCEPTS USED

In the present study entitled, "Traditional and Structural Change in an Orissan Temple", I shall use a few concepts to find out changes in the socio-economic, religious, political, educational and familial changes in the groups of Temple functionaries and the services, administration etc. In the Temple, approximately during about 62 years (Ca. 1900-1962). These are: "Temple Community", "Sacred Area", "Process of Secularisation". In addition to my own, the concepts of Max Weber (Style of life), Redfield (Great and little tradition), Singer (Cultural media), Srinivas (Sanskritization) and Vidyarthi (Sacred Complex) will also be used in the study wherever necessary to interprete or comprehend the empirical data collected by me.

The concepts of Redfield and Singer are so broad-based in their studies on Indian civilization, that in the present context, I have given brief reference to those wherever necessary. Srinivas and Max Weber's concepts are very useful in this study. Srinivas's concept "Sanskritization" has been found useful in analysing the degree of social and cultural mobility among the Temple functionaries. Max Weber's concept "Style of life", refers to what is most fundamental and enduring about the way of life of such organised groups which act between the great and little tradition. Along with the other changes, this study also focusses on the "Style of life" of the Temple functionaries. Vidyarthi's concept "Sacred Complex" is useful in studying the various sacred aspects of the Temple community and their changes during the period under report.

As a place of pilgrimage, as a sacred area (kṣhetra), and as a sacred institution, the Lingaraj Temple occupies a focal position in the Temple

community which includes the different categories of functionaries, administrators, gods, goddesses, tenants, services and rituals etc. By the concept "Temple Community", here, I mean that, "the community which include persons occupying roles necessary for the sacred and secular functioning of the Temple, related to each other by the inter-dependence of their roles and shared a set of moral principles and values. It exists within a boundary and the members possess a feeling of belonging together bound by their common subservience to and dependence on the Lord Lingaraj and His Temple".

As a community, this Temple community fulfils the basic requirements of a human community. For example : it has a territory, its members are related to each other in different spheres of life and the relationship continued within the community, members have a common goal, i.e. the smooth management of the services of the deity Lingaraj, possess a feeling of belonging together and the members are guided by a set of rules and regulations prescribed for the community. Though, it fulfils the major requirements of the community it differs from the ordinary human communities in certain respects. Another speciality of the Temple community compared to the other human communities is that whereas only human beings are members in ordinary communities, gods and goddesses are included in this community structure as members. The first and the most important point of difference is that the Temple community includes members from beyond its sacred territory. For example : the tenants, administrators etc. Though, they do not exist within the boundary of the sacred community still have important roles in the functioning of the community.

By the concept "Sacred area", I mean here in this study the sacred geography or the sacred zone of the Ekamra Kshetra mentioned in the sacred literatures dealing with Lord Lingaraj. This area has been taken as the sacred boundary of the Temple.

The "Process of Secularisation", means the different acts or processes leading to the secularisation and its causes and nature etc. among the different categories of Temple functionaries.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

An essential pre-requisite to study any community or institution is to gather a sufficient knowledge on its social structure. "Structure" is a word with many meanings and all branches of science deal with it. For example :

in atomic Physics we deal with the structure of the atom and the Chemistry with the structure of molecules. But to an Anthropologist it has a different meaning. Spencer (Cited in Firth 1963) defines "Structure" as the morphology of the society, Evans Pritchard (Cited in Radcliffe-Brown 1963) refers to social groups which retain their continuity like nation, clan and tribe, Radcliffe-Brown (1963) defines structure, as the social relations between persons although he differentiates between idiosyncratic behaviour on one hand and the roles and statuses on the other, Firth (1956) defines and distinguishes the terms structure and organisation. According to him "Structure" is an analytic tool designed to serve us in understanding how men behave in their social life".

The main aim of the study is to find out the changes in the traditional structure of the Lingaraj temple community. Therefore, the socio-economic, political, ritual, educational and familial changes among the different categories of Temple functionaries have been taken into consideration. This study also explores the interaction between the priests, gods and goddesses in the sacred and secular sphere and highlights their analogy with secular life.

In order to note the changes in the traditional structure of the Temple community, the year 1900 is taken as the base line in this study as the changes began to emerge after this date. This period has been mentioned earlier prior to the description of the situation in 1962. For a systematic collection of data during the field work and for writing this dissertation, the time range (1900-1962) has been divided into three distinct phases as follows :

1.	1900 to 1939	till the first Orissa Hindu Religious Endowment Act (O.H.R.E. Act) was passed.
2.	1939 to 1951	till the new township was established (1947) close to the traditional Temple town for the state capital and the amendment of the said act in 1951.
3.	1951 to 1962	to assess changes since the inception of the new township in the Temple community.

For purposes of analysis this thesis has been divided into seven main chapters dealing with Temple administration, ritual cycle, socio-economic

change among the functionaries and the caste associations of the leading sevakas of the Deity etc.

In the present thesis by the term Structure, I mean, "the network of patterened relations in which different persons and organisations interact and in social structure, all relations from person to person and differentiation of individuals, castes, classes by their social role. Moral, law, religion etc. are all parts of this complex mechanism by which the social structure exists".

Culture contact and acculturation are the different processes by which the traditional structure of the Temple complex have changed. The structure and the process of change especially due to culture contact and the external forces like the new township, etc. form the focus of this enquiry into the Lingaraj Temple in recent years. Since things have altered due to extraneous factors like establishment of the new township, abolition of the princely states, establishment of the educational institutions, opening of new economic opportunities and new communication facilities have changed the traditional structure of the Temple community.

In sum, the background of the Temple complex on which this study focusses, possess a rich and ancient tradition in history and legend. At the beginning of the 20th century, the sacred town was still relatively intact and the patronage of the local raja (Raja of Puri, the scion of the Kesaris) continued. However, the actual population of the Temple town and the villages within the sacred site was small and the area sparsely settled. The most important changes arose almost simultaneously after Indian Independence : the merger of the princely states in Orissa, drying up the source of royal patronage in Lingaraj Temple, and the establishment of the state capital in the immediate vicinity of the Temple town. The major event of this latter event, has been the increase in population with the attendant rise in land values, the growth of transportation, the development and diversification of opportunities open to Temple servants and the introduction of alternative sets of values and modes of livelihood. It is against this background that the specific changes in the Lingaraj Temple complex will be examined taking circa. 1900 as the base year.

REFERENCES

1. The 26 princely states were :—Dhenkanal, Nilgiri, Talcher, Rairkhol, Athagarh, Gangpur, Ranapur, Hindol, Bamra, Daspalla, Sonepur, Khandapara, Athamallik, Boud, Bonai, Bamara, Narasinghapur, Kalahandi, Seraikella, Kharasuan, Tigria, Keonjhar, Patna and Mayurbhanj.

2. Refer, the marble plaque fixed at the northern door of the Lingaraj Temple compound.

3. The Sakti is a circular-base with an elongated trough. The lingam rests in the base.

4. Viswakarma, the creator of the universe, had to construct one crore temples here in this place for the abode of Visnu. But while constructing the last temple to complete one crore, day broke. So, there was on less than a crore and Visnu did not prefer this place.

5. The sacred area (Kshetra) includes 45 villages (Acharya 1923) including Pokhariput, Kochilaput, Bahadalpur, Sarakantara, Botanda, Kuha, Kantilo, Rathijema, Hirapur, Karnatania, Garh Srirampur, Sisupalgarh, Bhubaneswar, Sarakana, Balakati, Durgadaspur, Tankapani, Bankual, Jharapada, Badagad, Laxmisagar, Pokhariput, Sunderpada, Kapilaprasad, Palaspur, Kumbhardehi, Jayipur, Garh Dhauli, Nuagaon, Nathapur, Singapur, Saradeipur, Kushupada, Jagamara, Dumuduma, Jadupur, Sarakantara.

   In this connection Mitra (1963 : 105) has said that, the idea of the Kshetra is the imagination and idea of a pandit not of a surveyor. The list of villages given by him (1963) also do not exist in the kshetra. For example : Bapakati, Pirokana etc. Also, he has omitted villages like Kapileswar.

Chapter Two

THE LINGARAJ TEMPLE COMMUNITY

In the previous chapter, we have defined the Lingaraj Temple as a "Community" and in the present chapter, we shall discuss in detail the structure and functioning of this 'Temple Community'.

As discussed in the first chapter, the "Lingaraj Temple Community" fulfils the major requirements of a community, however it differs in certain respects from the ordinary human communities. We may further explore some other differences than those mentioned in the previous chapter. The ordinary human communities are self-evolved in the course of time and all the systems and sub-systems are what is known as "crescive". But the "Temple Community" is a designed community, as it has been created by the rajas, who established the Temple, donated lands for its upkeep and made other arrangements for the ritual services. The activities of the "Temple Community" centre round the Lingaraj Temple, with Lord Lingaraj as the central figure in the community. He is considered not only as the chief god, but also, as the raja (king) or head in the "Temple Community". The members in this community are inter-related to one another in making mutual adjustments directed towards serving the common end, i.e. the smooth functioning of the services, rituals etc. of the Deity. The "Temple Community" can be visualised under two aspects, viz. the sacred and the secular. Although Lord Lingaraj is the one and the same Deity, He is seen in different capacities in the sacred and secular spheres of the community.

In the sacred domain, we shall include mainly services, rituals in the Temple, activities of the members in performing roles connected with the Temple and all the sacred relations in the community structure issuing out of the above activities. This sacred domain functions with Lord Lingaraj as the chief deity and He commands awe and reverence from the other members in the community, both human and divine. As the chief in this domain, He is served daily by a corps of ritual servants traditionally of 36 different types collectively known as the "Chhatisa nijoga". These 36 diffferent persons serve Him in different capacities to please Him, in His daily, weekly, fortnightly and annual cycle of rituals. These 36 different persons serving Him

in the daily, weekly, and fortnightly ritual cycles are properly speaking His "sevakas" or the ritual functionaries. In addition to these "sevakas", there are other groups of functionaries, who render services to the Deity in annual cycle of festivals and who are not included here as "sevaka" proper, for example the carpenters, blacksmiths, florist and weavers etc. who are of lower ritual and social status, and the Rajguru from Puri is requisitioned from outside the community, as a high sacred functionary on a particular occasion The sevakas and the other category of functionaries are mentioned in Chapter VI. The services of these functionaries are so inter-linked in a system that without the proper functioning of any one, the entire network will cease to operate.

The brahman priests, who are the main functionaries among the sevakas, say, "no harm will come to us, if we are assured of the alms (munifiscence) from the Lingaraj Temple and of the water of the Bindusagar tank (abundant) sacred to Lord Lingaraj".

The daily ritual include all the ablutions and the food offerings in His honour. From morning to night, the sevakas, perform all the services to Him. In His honour the weaver (Rangani), florist (Māli) caste men send their products like thread and garlands of flower on festive occasions. The weaver and the florist caste men who serve the Lord are from among the praja or subjects, included in the Temple community, who have the traditional obligations to supply the materials for the rituals. But they are not called "Sevaka" or ritual servant or are not included in the category of "Nijogas" While considering the sacred sphere of the "Temple Community" we are to note that Lingaraj is considered great not only by the human members comprising the Community but also by the gods and goddesses residing within it. In Lingaraj we find two supreme Hindu deities combined, out of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Visnu and Maheswar. Of these two god heads Visnu (Hari) and Hara (Śiva) are united in Lord Lingaraj, who is therefore, rightly considered to be a supreme deity of the Hindus. Further, the Sanskrit Puranas (Ekamra chandrika, Swanadri mahodaya) dealing with Lord Lingaraj, mention Him. as the Lord of "one less than a crore" (one less than ten millions) lingams supposed to be existing within the Temple community.

That the Lord Lingaraj is by far the supreme deity here, is proved by other popular legends enshrined in the Sanskrit scriptures and by the annual rituals based on them. It is narrated that the deities of Kapilanath, Rame-

swar and Bhimeswar prayed to the Lord in different occasions to appear before them to bless them. Therefore, the Lord pays ceremonial visits to each of them every year which is described in Chapter V. On another occasion, His supremacy is even more tellingly displayed. On the Satapuri Amabasya day, some special cakes are offered to the Lord Lingaraj which are then distributed among and are 'taken' by minor gods and goddesses as His "prasad", as is done by the devotees.

In the secular sphere, we also find the greatness of Lord Lingaraj, as He is considered both as a King (raja) as well as the most important member in the community.

Firstly, as the Raja or the Chief in the Temple community, He commands respect from all the members. The Temple is His palace and the Temple estate is his kingdom. He is served by a corps of servants and officials. As in the case of a king, Lingaraj has His courtiers and officials who are also given designations as in a royal household and estate. For example Parakaran, Pancayat, Parichha. Lord Kapilanath and Ananta-vasudev (a form of Visnu) are His minister and wise elder (Bhadraloka) respectively and accompany Him, when He goes out on festive days in a procession. In such processions Lord Lingaraj is accorded royal grandeur. Because, whenever, the Deity goes out, He is accompanied by a retinue of persons holding the royal insignia like umbrella (Chhata), fan (trasa) etc along with the musical instruments. Every year a ceremony corresponding to the royal investiture (raja abhiseka) is held in His palace (Temple) where all the major procedures followed in a royal palace are observed in the presence of all His officials and courtiers. As the head in the community, His tenants send Him tribute every year on the Oriya new years' day (Sunia) as a token of their subservience. All His landed estate are managed by a horde of managerial staff, who are paid out of the royal treasure of the Lord. The revenue collections from His estate is deposited in the royal treasury and is spent in the "Palace" (Temple).

As the chief in the community, all the members depend on Him, for their livelihood. For example : He has donated lands not only to the sevakas, functionaries and the officials for their services to Him but also to the different gods and goddesses to acknowledge His supremacy. He has also endowed lands to Bharati monastery (Temple of His sister 'Kāmākshi') to

feed the itinerant mendicants visiting Him daily. This type of Generosity is prevalent in the royal houses in the state.

The Deity falls ill for a period of three months (Sayana caturdasi to Uthapana caturdasi) during which He is treated by the royal physician (Vaidya) and during this period Lord Parasuram is appointed as the regent to look after the kingdom on adhoc basis.

His royal court consisting of the Pancadis (legal advisors) adjudicate the disputes arising in the palace (Temple) among the employees (sevakas and other functionaries).

As an important member in the Temple community, the Deity is given all honour by the other inmates of the community. Like any other member, Lord Lingaraj lives here with His family members and relations. For example His parents live in an open shrine to the south east of the Temple compound His sister (Kamakshi) lives in the premises of the Bharati monastery, His maternal uncle (Mitreswar) in the Temple of Mitreswar, close to the Kapali math near the Temple compound. As a member in the community, He visits to His near and dear ones in the annual cycle of rituals and festivals.

The Deity's visit to His relations has religious and social parallels. For example : On the Prathamastami day, the Deity visits His maternal uncle's house, where He is given new clothes and a feast which signifies the long life and prosperity of the Deity. This practice is also followed in the local society and the eldest son or daughter in the famity is given new clothes by the maternal uncle wishing the long life of the nephew (Bhanjjā) or niece (Bhānaji). Details of these festivals are mentioned in detail in Chapter V. The social and ritual parallels of the Temple rituals also reflect many other facts regarding the family affairs of the Deity. For example : On the Asokastami car festival day, when the Deity goes to the Rameswar Temple, He does not take His wife (Parvati) with Him. This is done in deference to the local custom. Because one is not supposed to take His wife in the company of only males. Therefore, when the Deity returns to the Temple, Parvati in anger does not open the doors of the Temple and asks Her husband (Lingaraj) to explain to her the reason why He did not take Her with Him. When the Lord Lingaraj reminds Her of the local customs, she keeps quiet and opens the doors of the Temple sanctum. This mock quarrel is performed by the two groups of priests.

In the Deity's marriage, the major local marriage customs are followed. This also reflects the social relations of the Deity with the other members in the community. On the day before the wedding (Mangan) goddess Parvati is bathed in the bathing water of the astacandi or Eight goddess. Because in the locality, the unwed girls take such a bath on the day before their marriage. Like the other members in the community in the Deity's marriage a marriage feast is given to all the functionaries and sevakas in the Temple premises. The Temple priests and functionaries accompany the Deity as grooms party (Barajatri). The Deity invites the priests and other functionaries to His marriage feast and similarly the priests invite Him as a Kinsman to their marriage and sacred investiture ceremonies. Following the traditional custom they send their family barber to invite Him and to give Him their gift of 5 arecanuts, one cocoanut, a sacred thread and a new dhoti. This same procedure is followed in inviting the lineage members in the local community.

Not only during marriages but also during the funerals of the major temple functionaries the Deity plays His part as a kinsman. For example: On the death of a Temple functionary fire for the funeral pyre is brought from the Temple kitchen.

As a member in the community the Deity pays courtesy visits to the other members house in different occasions. This can be visualised from the visit of the Deity to the wards around the Temple, during which He is offered various dishes by the sevakas. During such visits the Deity is received by all irrespective of age, sex, as the people in the neighbourhood receive their near and dear ones.

Lord Lingaraj follows all the regional social customs and formalities applicable to mortal beings. For example: On the Prathamastami day, He visits His maternal uncle's house which symbolises his long life and prosperity. Similarly, after the harvest, the new eating (Nuākhiā) ceremony is observed in His Temple on the Makar Sankranti and Magha Saptami days when the Deity is offered preparations consisting of new rice and new sesamum respectively.

On the Durgastami day, the local people bathe in the Gosagareswar tank to get rid of their earthly sin and Lord Lingaraj as a member in the Temple community also visits this place to take a bath in the tank to get rid of his earthly sin. Similarly, as the others, the Deity visits the Yameswar

Temple in the month of Kartika to get rid of the punishment of Yama after death. According to a local belief, persons visiting the Yameswar temple to get rid of the punishment of Yama in their after life.

In the social sphere, the different categories of Temple functionaries are so inter-connected that without one the other can not exist in the society. For example each caste category serves the other in their social capacity in the society. The Kshetrabasis act as family priests in the houses of all the functionaries except the scheduled castes, as their priestly specialists. Similarly, the washerman (dhobā), barber (bhandāri) etc. serve the other caste categories in their social need like funeral, marriage and even in day to day life.

The caste conflicts or other social issues pertaining to the caste are decided by the caste elders in the respective caste councils. Such organisations are known in different names, such as: "Jātiāna Sabhā" and the "Nijoga". The former refers to the caste council of the non-brahman functionaries whereas the latter to the brahman priests. Details about these have been described in separate chapters.

The Lingaraj Temple Community can be identified from the other communities because of its unique folkways. The mode of dress, hair style and speech of the members are distinct from the others in the locality. To cite a few examples: The priestly specialists put a special sacred sandal mark on their forehead with a tuff of hair at the back of their clean shaven head. The rudrākhya beads of Lord Śiva, are worn by them round their neck.

In sum: Lingaraj is the main source for binding up the members in the community tie.

Chapter Three

MANAGEMENT OF THE TEMPLE AND ITS ESTATE
(Since Ca. 1900—1962)

Lord Lingaraj is the main core and the central focus in the present study. Being the Chief in the Community, the Lord takes care of the community, i.e. all the income and expenses are borne by His Temple. He is the landlord of all the landed properties in the community. The Temple is far more than a sacred institution. The administration of this secular aspect of the Community has since been a source of difficulties. The Temple has its landholdings and treasure, the income which is spent in the rituals and services of the Deity. In this chapter, we shall focus on the landed estate and the treasure of the community and throw light on its management. The management of the Temple will follow next.

TEMPLE ESTATE AND MANAGEMENT

In the beginning, it is important to note the different sources through which the Temple accumulated its wealth, i.e. land and treasure etc.

After the establishment of the Temple, its expenditures were met from the royal treasury of the Kesari kings who were the builders and benefactors of the Temple. At first, the royal families and the local devotees were the main support of the Temple. As its fame spread, the other rajas gave land to support its rituals and services. Such land grants to the Deity were known as "Debottar" (Endowments to the Deity). These lands provided perpetual income for services to the Deity and management of the Temple. In addition, lands were also granted to the sevakas of the Deity by their clients (jajmans) to finance the worship of the Deity for the well being of the donors. The Temple has no control over these land grants made to the priests as the income from these lands went straight to the priests concerned. In the Temple endowment office there is no record giving details of these land grants.

Land

The total landed estates of the Deity consisted not only of gifts from

donors but also additional lands purchased from the surplus income accruing from the endowed properties. These include temples, shrines (debasthali), public road, well, tank, grazing land, cremation site (smasāṇa). The committee of trustees of the Temple are the caretaker (marfatdar) of the land holdings of the Deity.

All the landed properties of the Deity are located in 17 different villages (mouzas) both in and outside the State Orissa, Bhubaneswar (previously known as mouza Gosāgara), Sunderpada, Gangeswarpur, Mahabhoi-sasan, Dakshina Nuagaon, Amalanga, Badagaḍa, Ekachalia, Puba sasana, Ebaranga, Kusun Nagar. Kuhakshetrapala, Nuagaon, Kukudaghai and Belapatia (Andhra Pradesh). The total landholdings of the Deity as mentioned in the property register measures to 3,730.225 acres and has been divided into 8 different categories, Pattāḍār, Anābādi, Nayābādi, Niskar, Minhā, Cāndanā, Jāgiri and Sthitibān. Of these 17 villages (mouzas) the Temple endowment collects land taxes (khajanā) from all mouzas except Raghunathpur, Nuagaon Kukudaghai and Belapatia. Because the former three villages have been donated to the Badu and the Potter (Kumbhar) sevakas of the Deity. From the last Belapatia the Temple gets only its share in kind (paddy) because the landholdings in the mouza Belapatia were donated to the Deity by a devotee.

The Temple has granted lands to certain monasteries in the Bhubaneswar town for their services to the Deity. For example : The Bharati monastery of Bhubaneswar. This monastery has been endowed landed estate measuring 96.323 acres from the Temple for its daily food offerings to the Deity and for feeding the itinerant mendicants visiting the Temple throughout the year.

In the beginning the landed estates of the Deity were managed by the hereditary officials like Parakaran. In an interview, the old scribe of the Temple, said that till 1900 the landtaxes of the Temple were collected in the Jagamohan (Hall of audience) of the Parvati temple and the records of the Endowment concerning the landed estates were kept in his house, as there was no separate office of the Endowment. With the establishment of the office new secular officials such as Amin, Tahasildar, Moharir etc. were appointed to lookafter the landed estates. The committee or management or the Board of trustees were the overall authority in the landed estates and their decisions were taken to be the final. The Temple Endowment being the landlord sanctions lease of land, approves the sale and mortgage deeds etc. in the

landlord jurisdiction of the Temple. No document concerning the Temple land is valid except with the sanction of the Temple Endowment. Details of the management of the landed estate will be made in the preceding section of this chapter.

The Endowment gets a lucrative source of income from the land, like the crops raised in the paddy plus revenue (khajana) from the tenants as the landlord. Also, by sanctioning lease of land, approving the sale and mortgage deeds the Endowment earns a large sum of money which fulfils the major requirements of the Temple like payment to the staff members and for performing the rituals and services etc.

To collect the harvest from the paddy field, from the gardens of the Deity the Endowment officials like Tahasildar, Executive Officer, Amin and Moharirs visit the villages once in a year. The Temple has 62,262 acres of land under its self cultivation, i.e. the Temple has its share croppers who raise paddy and pulses etc. and pay half of the produce to the Temple after the harvest. Until 1962, the Temple did not have its own people for cultivating the land and also did not introduce improved methods of cultivation and irrigation.

Movable properties

The movable properties of the Deity include gold, silver, money (in the bank), textiles, metal utensils etc. These were presented by the pious for specific purposes such as worshipping the Deity. Traditionally, the valuables of the Temple including the money income were deposited in a single treasury. The keys to it were held by the Pancayat members and the Parichha. By 1900 there were three such treasuries in the Temple, e.g. (i) treasury in the Temple was in charge of the Temple Store-Keeper (Mekapa) who stored all the materials required for the daily worship of the Deity, (ii) One treasury was in the underground in the Temple Office where all the valuable ornaments were kept and its keys were with the Head Pancayat and the President of the management, (iii) The third treasury was in the custody of the Endowment manager latter designated as the Executive Officer. In 1962, the keys of the above treasuries are still with the persons occupying these positions The treasuries (Nos. 1 and 2) are opened for inventory when a new Executive Officer takes office but the treasury under the Executive Officer is opened whenever required by him.

The contents of the three treasuries as given in the charge report of the Executive Officers are gold, silver, ornaments, bell metal images, utensils, iron implements like sword, knife etc as well as costly textiles. The monetary value placed on these goods in 1962 is about Rs. 7,150 (Gold worth Rs. 5,000, Silver worth Rs. 1,624, metals worth Rs. 200 and textiles worth Rs. 50).

The Endowment also holds a bank account in the postal savings bank at Bhubaneswar. According to the Temple cash register the Endowment office had a deposit of Rs. 50,790 as of November 7, 1962. For the daily expenses of the Endowment, the Executive Officer being the head of the Endowment Office is entitled to draw money from the postal savings bank.

The historical development of administration of Lingaraj Temple is a complex topic. The beginning of the Temple administration presumably dates from its establishment but no reliable reference is available before 1900. In this chapter, I have examined in detail the changes in the administration of Lingaraj Temple from the Pre-British to the Post-British period, in terms of legislation, administration and staffing.

PRE-BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Legislation

During the pre-British administration, there was no strictly legal enactment for the management of the Temple. The Kesaris issued directives at will to Temple administrators.

Administration

It may be presumed, that after the establishment of the Temple, it was managed by the kings of the Kesari line. But later on it was made over to the raja of Puri, as the scion of the Kesaris. Banerjee in this connection notes :

> "It may be interesting to note that formally this Temple, also along with the temple of Jagannath at Puri, was under the direct supervision of the raja of Puri, being the scion of the Kesari kings of Orissa who were the builders of the temple and the original endowers. In course of time, the rajas of Puri, concerned themselves most with the supervision and management of the Temple of Jagannath, and gradually withdrew their direct control upon the Temple of Bhubaneswar" (Banerjee 1931 : 51).

Staffing

Though the responsibility for the administration of the Lingaraj Temple was vested in the raja of Puri, the practical management was left to the traditional officers appointed by him from among the Temple functionaries. These officers were variously paid in cash as well as in paddy lands, free food, tax free (niskar) household plots from the Endowment. According to the oral tradition in vogue among the Temple servants, the forefathers of the present "Samantara" (Badu Caste) family were appointed by the Kesaris to look after the Temple administration prior to the appointment of the following hereditary officers.

The exact date of appointment of the hereditary officials is yet unknown due to the non-availability of authentic records.

1. **Superintendent** (Parichhâ)

The "Parichhā" was the superintendent of the Temple and was charged with the overall supervision. They were outsiders and might be either Brahman or Karan by caste. Although, the post was a remunerative one, there were Parichhās who worked without remuneration like Shri Ramakrishna Bharati, the then abbot of Bharati monastery. The monthly cash salary of this officer was Rs. 15/- per mensem plus a share of the daily food offering of the Deity called "Parichha meal" (Parichha bhata). He was also allotted with rent-free quarters situated at the northern entrance to the Temple compound adjacent to the present platform for the non-Hindu onlookers. He also received annually a wheel of the Deity's car (after the Car festival) for his services to the Deity and the endowment. This office continued till the District Judge took over the Temple administration in 1863. In this connection, O'Malley states :

> "Formerly this temple was under the superintendence of a Parichha or honorary inspector; but in consequence of mismanagement and frequent quarells with the priests, the District Judge took charge of it under the civil procedure code and placed the superintendence in the hands of a committee" (O'Malley, 1929 : 272).

2. **Committee of the Five** (Pancāyat)

This committee, first of four, and subsequently of five, members was directly in charge of the Temple rites, services and servants. The members

were chosen from among the Temple functionaries such as Mahasuara (literally, Great Cooks) and Badu. Although, at first (date unknown) four members, from two families of Badu and two of the (great) cooks sat on this committee and it was popularly known as the "Council of the five (Pancāyat). In 1802, when the existing council was overburdened in its daily work, another member, a cook, joined the committee and was known as the "Additional Pancāyat" member. The posts of the original four members were hereditary, whereas the additional Pancāyat member was not. Further, this additional Pancāyat member received only free food from the Temple but no cash remuneration. But the other four received a cash remuneration of 13 annas 4 pies per month plus a share of the Temple food daily. The head Pancāyat member, whose office belonged to one Badu family, received in addition to the remunerations just mentioned, a wheel of the Deity's car after the Asokastami Car festival. This Pancāyat system may have been patterned on the system of secular government in local villages. The Pancāyat members were the full time employees of the Endowment. Their duties were to help the Temple Scribe (Parakaran) in maintaining official records, to participate in all the processions of the Deity on festive days, and to present themselves at the time of the opening of the Temple daily. In addition, the Pancāyat decided quarells among the Temple servants (Sevakas). Although an autonomous body, it was directly responsible to the Parichha. The post of the additional Pancāyat member seems to have discontinued after 1909, since the name does not appear in the Endowment register from that year onward. This body was responsible for the Temple finances because each individual Pancāyat members carried a key to the Temple treasury.

3. **Scribe** (Parakaran)

The Scribe's office was hereditary and all the Temple records were kept in his charge. He received from the Endowment a monthly salary of Rs. 3.2 annas and a portion of the daily Temple food offerings. This office carried with it 20 acres of temple-owned paddy land in the village of Kuha (a revenue village in the Zamindari jurisdiction of Lingaraj). In addition, he also received a wheel of the Deity's car after the Car festival. In return he attended all functions of the Temple. This author was told while interviewing the old Scribe of the Temple, that his house was once the office of the Temple Endowment. Since, his house had neither cupboards or almirahs,

the old documents (palmleaves) of the Endowment hung under the thatch of his roof.

4 **Accountant** (Kaudibhāgiā)

The Kaudibhāgiā (lit. divider of cowrie shells) was of the jeweller caste (Sunāri baniā) and served as an accountant for the Endowment. Nothing is known about his remuneration. This post was so named because the office holder distributed the cowrieshells, which formed the currency of the time. It was not known when this post was discontinued.

According to the 80-year old Scribe of the Temple, the audience hall of the Parvati temple was formerly the accounts office of the Endowment. The first regular office room of the Endowment was established in front of the Lion Gate of the Temple, sometime during 1908. Now, it is rented to shopkeepers.

THE TEMPLE UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Deterioration of the traditional management

From ancient days, India has been dotted with monasteries temples, and Ashrams belonging to different castes, creeds and religious sects. These were established with the aim of promoting the religious spirit in society. In addition, they had subsidiary aims like, maintaining meritorious students, arranging religious meetings and performances of recital of the names of God (Bhajan) and feeding the pilgrims, mendicants and the poor. Large endowments in landholdings were made for the upkeep and maintenance of these institutions by benevolent people, kings or landlords. Also, priests and abbots (Mahanta) were made responsible for special services to the Deity enshrined as well as for the upkeep of the trust properties. As there was no immediate supervision over the priests and abbots in charge of the religious endowments and institutions, the trust and the endowed properties were gradually misused and maladministered. The failure of the priests and abbots to discharge their duties satisfactorily resulted in widespread criticism. They were accused of being addicted to wine, women and of spending the endowed properties for their personal use (Cf. Hunter in Dutta, 1956, P. 28). The Bharati monastery of Bhubaneswar is a recent illustration of such abuses. This monastery held 96.323 of tax free land from the Lingaraj Temple endowment to feed the itinerant mendicants visiting the Deity and to present food

to the deities on certain festive occasions. But the mahantas had stopped feeding mendicants, had reduced the amount of Panti and other foods presented to the deities and had sold the endowed properties for their personal benefit. Similar examples occur among the potter servants of Lingaraj, who enjoyed free paddy lands for their services to the Deity. Five families from among them sold their endowed properties during the period from 1900 to 1920 and stopped supplying the required new earthen pots to the Temple on the service days. As a result, the Lingaraj Temple endowment was forced to buy the earthen pots on those days. Such practices were not confined to Bhubaneswar only. Important temples, like the Jagannath at Puri faced similar difficulties Religious institutions became the centre of malpractice and mismanagement

At first the British were reluctant to interfere with the religious institutions of the country. But when the corruptions reached the point of general scandal, regulations were passed in the hope of remedying the situation.

Legislation and Administration

The legislation concerning the administration went through the following major phases.

(i) 1810 (Regulation XIX)—Board of Revenue.

(ii) 1863 (Act XX of the Civil Procedure Code)—Committee of Management.

(iii) 1925 (Religious Endowment Act)—Board of Trustees.

(iv) 1939 (O.H.R.E. Act)—Board of Trustees.

(v) 1951 (O.H.R.E. Act)—Amendments.

The administration of the public Hindu religious Endowments during the early British regime in the country may be divided into three phases.

1810 (Regulation XIX)

In 1810, the British first placed the religious endowments in their jurisdiction under the Board of Revenue. At that time, the Lingaraj Temple was under the control of the raja of Khurda. When the raja was deposed, after the Paik rebellion in 1817 and removed to Puri, the Lingaraj Temple was brought under the supervision of the Board of Revenue. The members of the Board, themselves being foreigners and Christians, appointed an officer titled "Local Agent" to act as an intermediary between them and the Temple.

When this Temple was administered under the Board of Revenue, the Local Agent only supervised the traditional Pancāyat system of administration in the Temple. He simply reported to the Board on the administration of the Temple. Due to non-availability of official records, it is not possible to say any thing more about the reports, which the Local Agents had submitted to the Board or even to identify the local Agents.

1863 (Act XX of the Civil Procedure Code)

The second phase started with the introduction of the Act XX of the Civil Procedure Code of 1863. Under this Act, the Temple management shifted to a Committee of management (hereafter, Committee) whose members were appointed by the District Judge (Civil). "Such committees shall consist of three or more persons and shall perform all the duties imposed on such Board of Revenue and Local Agents" (Ghosh 1938 : 1912). Even after the introduction of this Act and the appointment of a committee, the traditional hereditary officers of the Temple continued as before. The committee members had life tenure, unless removed by the District Judge for misconduct or unfitness but such removal was subject to the orders of the Civil Court (Ghosh 1938). Men of wealth and power, like the landlords and pleaders were appointed to the Committee. During the tenure of office of the committee the official records and the accounts etc. were in disorder (Acharya 1923). Although, the District Judge was to supervise the Committee, corruption reached to such a height that several cases were filed at Cuttack by the Temple priests as well as by the public in order to remove the committee members. A panel of pleaders were therefore appointed by the then justices, Mr. Jwala Prasad and Mr. Forster to report on the situation after hearing to the public complainants (Acharya 1923). Acharya (1923) does not mention the decision of the judges as his book was published prior to the complete of the case.

From 1897 onwards, details of the Endowment staffing are available in the Lingaraj Temple office. The attendance registers in 1897 shows that 52 different persons were appointed to 20 different offices. It is noteworthy to mention that only persons receiving cash remunerations from the Endowment were listed in the Acquittance roll of the Endowment. The monthly salary designation, number of persons duties and caste of the incumbents are mentioned in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that the officers were paid mostly according to the time spent for their services. Temple officers who were supplied with free food, were paid at a lower rate than the other employees of lower status, such as : Peon, Jamadar etc. The committee being the appointing authority fixed the salary of the officers and terminated the services of the employees when they were found unsuitable for the job. Of the 20 different positions, only the Pancāyat and Parakaran worked both for the Temple and the office whereas the others served exclusively in the Temple and its estate. The officials mentioned in Table 1 continued till 1925.

1925 Religious Endowment Act

When the Act XX of the Civil Procedure Code of 1863, was found to be inadequate to control the mismanagement of religious institutions. It was supplemented by the Religious Endowment Act (Amendment) 1925. The administration thus underwent a slight change. A new post titled "Superintendent" was created in 1926. The other officials including the hereditary ones continued without any alteration. The Superintendent like the Local Agent was responsible to the Committee for the overall administration of the Temple and its estates.

The staff position remained the same from 1926 to 1935. In 1936, the staff position in the Endowment decreased and the officer of the Superintendent was designated as "Manager". Decrease in the total staff position resulted in the decrease in the hereditary officials. Details of the total staff position in the Endowment are cited in Table 2. It is very difficult to say why the traditional officials gradually decreased. It is clear that the non-hereditary secular positions increased according to the requirements of the O.H.R.E. Act. The Managers and the Superintendents of the Temple were the paid employees of the Endowment. Therefore, they had no other privileges like the hereditary officials.

LATE BRITISH AND POST-INDEPENDENCE ADMINISTRATION

As mentioned in the previous section, when the provisions for administering the Hindu religious endowments and institutions were seen to be still inadequate, the then Government decided to provincialise the Act, to provide better administration and supervision of the Temple affairs.

Legislation and Administration

After many discussions in the Government a new Hindu religious endowment Act was felt necessary for the newly created province of Orissa which had been established since 1936. This Act titled, "Orissa Hindu Religious Endowment Act" (hereafter O.H.R E. Act), 1939, came into force on August 31, 1939. This Act followed the similar legislation enacted in Madras. Like the Madras State, in Orissa, the O.H.R.E. Act was also consolidated, and amended its earlier enactments into the 1939 Act. "But as certain provisions of the Madras Act and sections 38 and 39 of the Orissa Act was declared ultra-vires of the constitution of India both acts needed further revision. Consequently, the O.H.R.E. Act 1939, came into force with its amending Act in 1954 on the January 1, 1955" (Misra 1957 : Preface).

The O.H.R.E. Act provided for a Commissioner of Endowments (E.C.) who serves as the administrative head of the endowments in the State. He is appointed by the State Minister for Law. He is assisted by a number of Assistant Commissioners (A.C.). All the A.Cs and the E.C. must be born Hindus and shall cease to hold office when they cease to be Hindus. The E.C., must be from among the cadre of a Subordinate Judge whereas the A.Cs must not be below the rank of a Munsif[4]. The first E.C. was appointed by the State Government with the introduction of the O.H.R.E. Act. Till 1962, 9 such persons have been held this office for different length of time All, but one E.A., were selected from among the State Judiciary service, and the only exception was a retired Deputy Collector though with judicial powers. An interview in this connection with the Secretary to the E.C., revealed that the shortage of personnel resulted in the appointment of retired officers as E.C. As there was no separation between the Executive and Judiciary in the State, Deputy Collectors are also appointed as E.C. Although, there is no specification as to the tenure of office of the E.C. in the O.H R.E. Act, the terms of office of E.Cs vary from a maximum of six years to a minimum of six months.

The office of the E.C., remained at Cuttack until 1964, when it was shifted to Bhubaneswar. The E.C. is assisted by an A.C. and by a large and varied staff of subordinates, such as, inspectors, office assistants and stenographers etc. In 1963 February, the Secretary to the E.C. stated that, there were 18 categories of different posts in this Organisation with a total strength of 77 officials of which 60 were permanent, 8 temporary and 9 on a contract

for one year Appendix 2). The office of the E.C. operates on a special fund created for the purpose called, "The Orissa Religious Endowments Administration Fund". This fund is vested in an administered by the E.C.

Administration

The administration of all religious endowments underwent a series of changes after the provincialisation of the O.H.R.E. Act. The data supplied to me by the Secretary to E.C., shows that, there were 6,271 temples and 275 monasteries in Orissa, under the control of the E.C. in 1962, Lingaraj Temple after the introduction of the O.H.R.E. Act, was among those placed under the direct control of the E.C. The old committee members continued as trustees in the management after it was taken over by the E.C. Hereafter, three non-hereditary trustees were appointed by the E.C. on December 5,1945 for a period of five years. After the completion of five years, they were again asked to continue until further orders. Meanwhile several petitions were received making allegations against the then Board of Trustees and the Temple management. After an enquiry by the then E.C. new trustees were appointed. Moreover, when the broadness of the provisions led down in the O.H.R.E. Act, were found unsuitable for the management of the Temple a "Scheme" was framed for the better management of the Lingaraj Temple and its Endowment. This new scheme was prepared in accordance with the provisions in the O.H.R.E. Act. So, at present the Temple is administered according to this "Scheme" (Appendix-3). After the introduction of this Scheme in the Temple Endowment, the Manager of the Lingaraj Temple was designated as the Executive Officer in 1963. Despite the aparent changes described above, the actual administration of the Lingaraj Temple remained largely unaltered. An E.C succeeded to the District Judge at the top of the administration. The Committee appointed by the District Judge (Civil) remained as such until 1952, after which it was redesignated as the "Board of Trustees".

FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL PANCAYAT

While various external controls were being instituted over the management of the Temple, the traditional Pancāyat continued to exist largely for internal affairs.

The type of issues with which the traditional Pancāyat dealt are illustra-

ted by instances selected from the daily diary of the Temple during the decade from 1940 to 1950.

1. On April 21,1940 the potter servant (Kumbhār) of the Deity incharge of the day's service supplied a cracked earthen pot which broke while food was being prepared in it. As a result the food had to be re-cooked, delaying the scheduled time for the food offering The Manager of the Endowment, when was informed of this by the Pancāyat, immediately summoned the potter and fined him three annas in cash plus the cost of the destroyed food. Furthermore, the Temple peon, at the order of the Manager, pulled the ears of the potter before a large gathering.

2. On March 20,1939 the Temple door-keeper (Dwāri) on duty left his position for some personal reason. During his absence, a dog entered the temple compound. As a result, all the food cooked for the day's offering was polluted. The losses thus entailed, were charged to the Temple door-keeper and he was removed from his services for negligence of duty.

3. The confectioners (Gudia) were fined several times for supplying poor preparations for the morning breakfast (Ballav) of the Deity.

4. The orchestral musician, barber, washermen etc. serving the Deity were also fined for lateness or absence without advance notification.

5. There were instance in which visitors to the Temple were fined for breach of codes of conduct. Punishments in shape of fines were levied on several visitors for spitting in the Temple premises, entering the Temple with rubber or leather articles, match boxes, bidi, cigarettes or for defecating or urinating in the Temple precinct.

Traditionally, the Pancāyat occupied a controlling position in the internal administration of the Temple. Since it was an autonomous body, its power was not only confined to the Temple but also to the whole area inhabited by the Temple functionaries. The Pancāyat exercised its power over the sacred and secular affairs. The Pancāyat members acted as an intermediary between the Temple authorities and the nijogas. For example, the Temple authorities never punished sevakas of higher order such as Badu, Puja panda, Suar and Kshetrabasi. Instead, the Temple authorities would direct Pancāyat members to inform the appropriate nijoga to punish their erring sevakas.

The accused sevakas were punished by the Temple authorities at the recommendation of the Pancāyat. Other traditional officials like the Parakaran

and the Kaudibhāgia were also honoured by the people for their position in the sacred complex.

From the above incidents, as well as from the daily diary of the Temple, it is clear that punishments were administered only to the low caste Temple servants and not on higher ranking ones. although, several complaints against higher ranks were recorded in the Temple diary. The Pancāyat never took disciplinary action against their peers. The Temple manager was powerless against these groups because of their influence and prestige in the community. He was also intimidated by the highhandedness of the caste-associations (Nijogas).

An analysis of the data on this topic shows that the power position etc. of the Pancāyat decreased gradually with the introduction of new enactments and executive arrangements. Details on this are cited in the following paragraphs.

From 1938, a new position in the Temple Endowment was created called, "Temple Tahasildār". He was appointed from among the outside of the community. He looked after the smooth management of the Temple services and the Temple Eastate. Thus, he managed the duties of the Pancāyat members as well as of Parakaran. In this connection, this author was told by an elderly Pancāyat member, that this post was created as the then Pancāyat members were overburdened in their day to day works. It is not known when this office was terminated due to the non-availability of the official records.

In 1959, a post without designation was created in the Endowment office. It is rumoured that this position (without designation) was created with an aim to appoint the Pancāyat member who was working as a clerk (Moharir) in the Temple office. When his position in the Temple office was terminated, he was appointed in this position without designation due to his influence in the Temple management. This man subsequently was designated as the "Temple Supervisor". During this period as the old Parakaran of the Temple did not attend to his duties regularly on account of his old age, his post was absorbed in the newly created post of Supervisor. According to an ex-Temple Official, this change was necessary as the old Parakaran of the Temple consistently neglected to his duties. Since, the position Parakaran was a hereditary office, he collected his traditional remunerations as before. An interview with the only heir of the old Parakaran revealed that he is

willing to take up the duties of his father on full time basis if he will be given a higher monthly salary which he claims is necessary because the traditional remunerations is not sufficient to maintain his family. Since the traditional payment is so low, he has taken a civil job in the New Capital to maintain his family.

The secular officials appointed for the Temple office, the Temple Tahasildār and the Supervisor, gradually superseded the traditional officials. After the Temple became a state managed institution, the hereditary officials lost their former power and position as many new secular officials crept into the Temple administration. In 1962, though the Pancāyat and the Parakaran receive their traditional salary from the Endowment, they are no longer even consulted in important matters pertaining to the Endowment. The young heirs of the traditional Pancāyat members also do not prefer to take up the duties of their fathers for less remuneration and the politics (as they call it) of the secular officials.

Factors affecting the modern administration

The modern administration of the Endowment rested solely on the secular officials and this brought more harm than good of the Endowment. With the introduction of the new enactments and the executive supremacy of the secular officials, the traditional officials remained only as nominal heads. Maladministration and mismanagement crept into the administration of the Temple, for the following reasons. Firstly the low salary of the secular officials and the insecurity of their positions. Their services can be terminated by the E.O. at any time when the latter is dissatisfied on them. Corruption in the entire Temple administration is the second reason for this. In this connection, an informant from among the Temple secular officials narrated the following :

> "We are all low paid officials and are paid quite lees than the State employees. Our services are not permanent and can be terminated at any time by our superior. When nothing is secured we all are entangled in misappropriations and we were forced to be dishonest. If we can help some one in our official capacity by illegal means, we will earn some extra money".

A public meeting was arranged by the local youths in 1964 in the old

town, Bhubaneswar, to discuss the maladministration in the Temple management along with several other issues.

To quote,

> "A third demand voiced at the meeting for the improvement of the management of the Lingaraj Temple which draws thousands of people from all over India". (Reported in Hindusthan Standard July 7, 1964).

This disorder is not only confined to the office of the Endowment but also to the internal administration of the Temple. As the traditional officials became mere nominal heads and were superceded by secular officials, the Temple rituals were not performed in time and more orderly. Temple priests also lack co-operation among them. They performed their services in the Temple carelessly and the Temple authorities did not take any action against them. This is only due to their less remuneration in the sacred services and the more remuneration in the secular services.

CHANGE IN THE STAFF

A peep at the Table 2 shows more discontinuity in the total staff position of the Endowment, which is mainly due to the whim of the executive authorities. Enquiries regarding the increase and the decrease of staff members in the Endowment show that, the appointment and retrenchments were made according to the will and necessity. During 1897 to 1925, all the persons appointed for the Endowment were engaged in the Temple as no office existed at that time and the Endowment estates were managed by the traditional officials.

An important change took place in the administration with the appointment of a "Superintendent" who was responsible to the authorities for the smooth management of the Endowment estates and the Temple. From 1936, the office of the "Superintendent" was upgraded to Manager and the traditional officials gradually decreased from 25 to 13. The other changes in the total strength i.e. appointment of menials etc. are not of much importance. In 1953 February the Manager was replaced by the E.O., according to the provisions of the O.H.R.E. Act. In 1953, two new persons were appointed to take care of the Endowment court cases and were designated as the "Law Agent" and "Typist". The Law Agent was paid a consolidated sum to look after the court cases of the Endowment pending in the court of laws. The typist typed out the court materials and was paid a fixed salary. In 1959, a

new post was created without any designation and was later designed as Supervisor. In 1962, a new post (Accountant) was created as the position of the Supervisor was abolished. This was done as the monetary transaction of the Endowment increased.

ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

The Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.O.I.) which now maintains the Temple structure properly and scientifically took charge of the Temple since 1958. For the preservation of the protected monuments in the State, a sub-circle office functions in the old town. Also, the office of the Archaeological Chemist exists here for the chemical preservation of the monuments.

Many temples were in disrepair prior to the Britishers came into the country. It was during the British rule this A.S.O.I. was created to protect the antiquities of the country. They also declared the temples and other antiquities rich in architecture as ancient monuments and passed an act called "Ancient Monuments Protection Act" (A.M.P.A.) in 1904 for the preservation of these ancient monuments. Among the other protected monuments, Lingaraj is one.

The E C., is responsible for the general management of the Temple and its trust properties whereas the physical protection lies with the Director-General Archaeology stationed in New Delhi. The later took charge of the protection of the Lingaraj Temple and an Agreement (Appendix 4) was signed between the A.S.O.I. and the Temple Management in 1958.

The first restoration of the Lingaraj shrine was undertaken by the Temple authorities and the general public, funds for which were raised from the public. This repair was undertaken when a leak developed in the joint between the Audience Hall and the main temple as the Endowment failed to undertake the costly repair. At this time, several discussions were held in the Committee to make over the maintenance of the Temple to the A.S.O.I. But this could not be done as most of the members voted against it. Lingaraj Temple was first declared to be a protected monument in 1941, but subsequently deleted from the list, reasons of which are unknown. However, on July 15, 1941 the Committee of Management in a special session resolved to make over the Temple to the A.S.O.I.

Reaction among the people for the transfer of the Temple

After the Temple was transferred to the A.S O.I., there was a negative reaction among the Temple servants in general and the suars in particular. The suars who supplied cooked food to the public and to the clients (jajman) used 18 small temples as their store rooms (Saraghar) for storing rice, dal, vegetables, pots and fuel etc. They also occupied the old kitchen building in the Temple precinct According to an old settlement record (Order sheet of the Assistant Settlement Officer, dated June 14, 1899), the suars constructed 66 rooms of thatched houses on the Temple compound, for their store rooms, for storing the cooking materials. As these rooms were broken, they (Great cooks) were permitted by the Assistant Settlement officer to construct these 66 rooms.

But after the Temple was transferred to the A.S.O.I., it issued a notice to the suars requesting them to vacate the small temples occupied as store rooms. The suar caste Association (hereafter, Suar Nijoga) fought a costly court battle to abrogate the notice. At last after many discussions the Suar Nijoga got only the old kitchen on the Temple compound, for which it is rumoured that the Suar Nijoga donated 4000 rupees to the Temple Endowment for the electrification of the Lingaraj Temple.

As the data go, there was no other reaction among the people for this transfer. Although, the early interference of the A S.O.I. in the Lingaraj Temple first aroused bitterness among the priests of the Temple. They now appreciate the fact that the A.S.O.I. has preserved the Temple from decay. Informants from among priests as well as persons from among the general public appreciate its services.

MAJOR OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS IN THE COMMITTEE/BOARD OF TRUST

The Executive Officer (E.O.) of the Temple, is the only Supervising Officer in charge of the Temple and its Estate today in 1962. This position was variously designated in different times. In 1926, it was called "Superintendent" and in 1936 it was titled "Manager". This office was/is a remunerative one. Appointment to this position is made by the E.C. and this officer look after the practical management of the Temple and its Estates. He acts according to the E.C. for the management of the Temple and is also responsible to him.

Prior to the appointment of the E.O. persons read upto M.E. Standard were appointed as such. All such persons possessed a lot of experience regarding the administration of the estates. As the O.H.R E. Act did not have any rules stating the minimum requirements for the appointment of such officials in 1962 retired civil servants are also appointed as E Os. Elderly informants say that though the offices of the "Superintendent", "Manager" and the E.O. are more or less, same power differs from position to position. For example : the "Superintendent" and the "Manager" were more powerful than the E.O. Though the former officials were appointed by the District Judge and acted according to the Committee they held more power. But the E.Os have been handicapped as the O.H.R.E. Act which clearly mentions the duties of the E.Os in the Endowment. Since the Committee members, and the Managers held office for a long time, they monopolised the administration in the Endowment. Table 3 cites the background training length of service etc. of the E.O., "Manager" and the "Superintendent"

As the Table 3 shows the tenure of office of the E.Os varied from 5 months to 5 years. Enquiries regarding this reveal that the E.Os were transferred from one Endowment to the other by the E.C. The tenure of office of the Managers and the Superintendent were longer and they served the Endowment permanently, as there was no transfer possible at that time. Therefore, the Superintendents and the Managers were very powerful and responsible.

The salary of this incumbent (E.O.) increased after the introduction of the O.H.R.E. Act. Formerly these officers were paid a small salary. Rumours reveal that as the E.O.s earn more from other sources illegally they do not hesitate to serve the Deity in their low income

Members in the Committee and the Board of Trust

From 1900 to till 1962, the Temple has been administered by two sets of members. One titled, "Committee of Management" and the other "Board of Trustees". The functions of these members are more or less same even though they are called differently.

The "Board of Trustees" were empowered for a general supervision of the Temple and its estate and to pass order for the betterment of the institution. On the whole, the power, function of the "Board of Trustees" remained the same as those of the "Committee of Management". The main difference between a Committee member and a member in the Board of Trust is that

the former was appointed for life unless he was declared to be of unsound mind and body whereas the latter officiated only for a specific period of time. The "Scheme" settled for the better management of the Lingaraj Temple in 1952, specified the number of members in the Board of Trustees. Although both the Committee and trustees were honorary, they were given Travelling Allowances (T.A.) to attend meetings in the Endowment office from their place of residences.

The members in the Committee and the Board are the key positions, as they form the rules and regulations for the better administration of the Endowment. As all the members in the Board were outsiders like the Committee members, there was no sign of improvement in the Temple administration. After many complaints and requests the officers of the Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti (L S.S.), three persons from among the three important groups of Temple priests, e.g. Pujapanda, Maha-Suar and the Badu were added to the Board.

Table 4, shows the number of persons, their background training, length of service, occupation, place of origin in the Committee and in the Board of Trustees appointed by the District Judge (Civil) and the E.C. respectively. This table also illustrates that during the management of the Committee the number of members remained constant until 1939. Again, the Committee members continued as Trustees till the "Scheme" was made for the Temple administration in 1952. From 1953 to 1962 the number of trustees varied every year. As the number of trustees varied every year, the management of the institution suffered and the members could not meet together in sessions. Not only the committee members but also the members in the Board of Trustees (excepting the priests) were all high officials, advocates, landlord, men of influence. Such outsiders appointed to the Committee or the Board being outsiders and ignorant of local practices were either biased by influential public or by their appointing authorities in the management for which the administration of the Endowment suffered. The following extract from a report of the E.C. throws light on this :

> "......the result is that since the function of the Board about one and half years ago only five meetings have been held as against the requisite 18 meetings. During my inspection of this institution in July last, I had pointed out several matters which required the urgent attention of the Board of Trustees. In spite of the reminders issued

from this office, no effective steps appear to have been taken to rectify the defects. The settlement operations are going on and in connection therewith many problems, affecting the interest of Lord Lingaraj are arising out of decision. I find that in the absence of any decision by the Board, the Executive Officer finds no other alternative but to do certain things on his own responsibility. This ought not happen. The circumstances detailed above would show that some of the members perhaps could not find it possible to devote as much time as was necessary for the administration of this institution" (Report of the E.C., dated June 15, 1954, pp. 2-3).

SUMMARY

During the Pre-British days there was no legislation and the Temple was administered by the Kesari Kings through a body of officials. These officials were hereditary and were paid in cash and kind. Although the Raja was the titular head of the administration the practical management was vested on this body of the secular officers.

During the early British days mismanagement and maladministration was accentuated in the Endowment. The Hindu Religious Endowments were placed under the Board of Revenue after the passing of the 1810 Endowment Act, which was the first of its kind on Indian soil. The second Act of 1863 replaced the first Act, which was found unsuitable. The Act of 1863 was amended by the Act of 1925. In 1939, this Act was localised and was called as the O.H.R.E. Act 1939. This act was further amended in 1951.

The introduction of the Act in 1810 placed the Lingaraj Temple Endowment under the Board of Revenue and a person titled "Local Agent" was appointed to act as an intermediary between the Temple and the Board of Revenue. But after 1863, when the Endowment was in charge of the District Judge, it was managed by a Committee consisting of several persons who served as members for life unless removed for unsound health and mind. The Committee also appointed an officer to look after the practical management of the Endowment. The Committee members were honorary. From 1908 the first office of the Endowment began in a house in front of the Temple Lions Gate, now rented to shop keepers. Prior to this, it functioned in the audience hall of Parvati Temple and also sometimes in the house of the Temple Scribe (Parakaran).

During the rule of the Committee in the beginning the traditional officers topped the list and many persons were appointed for the Temple than for the Estate. The third phase, otherwise called as the Late British period and the Post independence period, began from 1939-1962. During this period the Endowment Act was provincialised and was introduced in the Temple. But as the vastness of this Act was found unsuitable for the proper management of this Endowment, a new "Scheme" was framed as per the rules led down in the O.H.R.E. Act for the better management of the institution. The secular officials gradually increased in the Endowment. After the introduction of the Scheme for the better management of the Endowment and the designation of several officers and offices changed. For example The "Committee of Management" changed to "Board of Trustees" and the "Manager" was designated as the E.O. Though several changes were introduced in the Temple through various enactments, the general administration of the Endowment remained more or less same. Red tape and bureaucracy gradully entered into Temple administration after 1952. The traditional hereditary officials in the Endowment although still paid their traditional remuneration, are no longer cared for an consulted by the Endowment officials. They have thus been replaced by new secular officials who are mostly outsiders and ignorant of the local practices.

REFERENCES

1. These figures were arrived at, in a joint conversation with the Executive Officer and the Temple Supervisor. The valuable pearls as mentioned in the charge report of the Executive Officers are only glass beads. Further, this interview revealed that the textiles even though were originally costly are torn out in 1962. Since, there is no approximate values of these assets of the Endowment listed in its register (Property register) this figure is the result of my conversation with the Executive Officer. The monetary values of these assets were given to me by the Executive Officer of the Endowment. Therefore, these figures should not be taken seriously. Further, the Temple Endowment purchased a government gold bond in 1963 at the time of the Indo-Chinese dispute for which it deposited gold weighing 80.800 grams in the Government treasury.
2. Cowrie shells formed the currency of the country for centuries. Until 1908, the rent was paid in cowrie shells. Even after 1908 rents were collected either in cowrie shells or in cash.
3. "Munsif", is a cadre in the State Judiciary Service.

Chapter Four

CHANGES IN TEMPLE RITUALS

The activities in the "Temple Community" are primarily not holy. Lord Lingaraj is the central figure in the Temple Community and whatever is done to Him every day is considered to be the day to day affairs of the Temple Community. In this thesis we are describing a large area of such activities in the Temple Community and in the present and the following chapter we shall discuss the activities only sacred to the Lord.

The deities, Temple servants, their remunerations and the daily, weekly, fortnightly, annual cycle of rites from a highly complex network. In this and in the following chapter, the structural network of these rites and ceremonies will be discussed in detail with particular reference to the changes that have occurred in their traditional structure since 1900.

Before describing the festivals, it is important to discuss briefly the notable gods, godesses, shrines and platforms (mandapas) situated in the Temple precinct connected to the rituals.

The Lingaraj Temple alongwith the other minor shrines is situated within a compound of 4.595 acres surrounded by a laterite wall varying in height from 5 to 20 ft. According to Panigrahi (1961 99) the Temple precinct measures 520 ft. in length and 465 ft. in breadth. There are three gates in the compound walls situated to the east, south and north of the central shrine. The main entrance to the Temple called "Lions Gate" is located to the eastern side.

According to tradition, non-Hindus and scheduled caste persons were not allowed into the Temple compound. Therefore, a platform was built during the Britishraj (1939) near the northern entrance for the non-Hindu onlookers of the Temple. The Bauris, a scheduled caste being placed a little higher than the other scheduled castes in the traditional caste hierarchy have access to the Temple compound but not into the temples. They can go a round the temple compound half way upto the Monday Platform (Somabār mandapa) and the Nrusingha Temple. The Hadi sweepers enter into the Temple compound only once in a year on the day after the Śivarātri festival to clean the heaps of refuse gathered in the compound due to the large gathering

on the previous night. After the cleaning of the Temple precinct by the Hadis, a ceremonial cleaning (Dhokāla) was performed by the Endowment office through the Temple servant. No cleaning is necessary if the Bauri scheduled caste persons enter into the Temple compound. According to the official records of the Endowment there are 100 temples existing in the Temple compound. But for the purpose of this present enquiry, only 7 temples, 6 platforms (mandapas), 3 wells and 2 other structures (Kitchen and Samar or store) and 1 sacred figure are taken into consideration (Refer. Map 1), such as :

Temples

(1) Ganesh, (2) Surya, (3) Dakshina ghar, (4) Savitri, (5) Lingaraj, (6) Parvati, (7) Bhubaneswari or Gopalini.

Platforms (Mandapas

(8) Bakkh a-mandapa, (9) Beherana, (10) Makara, (11) Somabar, (12) Cahani, (13) Nahikata.

Wells

(14) Gara, (15) Jemadei, (16) Amania.

Other Structures

(17) Kitchen, (19) Samara or store.

Figures (Sacred)

Dwarapala.

In all the seven temples noted above there are permanent images made of stone except in the Dakshina ghar Temple (lit. Southern Temple). This temple is so named as it is situated close to the southern entrance to the main Temple. There were/are eleven mobile images locally known as "Calanti Pratima". Of the 11 images 3 are made of stone and the rest are of metal. The metal images vary in sizes and are considered to be the symbolic representatives of the main images. During festive days, these mobile deities were/are taken in the procession, as it is impossible to carry the stone images permanently fixed to the ground. These mobile deities are : (1) Pancapatra mahadeva (Five headed Śiva), (2) Dolagovinda, (3) Rukmini (also known as Durga in the locality, (4) Madanmohan, (5) Parvati,

(6) Basudev, (7) Harihara, (8) Krishna. Rukmini (3) image is also known as Durga by the local people. Of the three wells situated in the Temple compound, the "Gara well" supplies water for the worship and bathing of the deities installed in the Temple compound. The water of the "Jemadei (15) well" is used for cooking purposes by the cooks. Amania (16) well is actually a big trench and there is no water in this well, since the temple is polluted for some reason the food cooked for the deity were/are thrown into this well. As the food materials are not presented to the Deity again or distributed among the people.

CHRONICLE OF THE DAY

The following is a description of the daily ritual cycle of Lingaraj and other deities performed in 1900 and in 1962. The chronicle is written as of 1900 and the changes in 1962 are recorded by way of contrast. Certain changes in the intervening year are common to most of the daily cycle. Before discussing the chronicle of the day, the readers attention is called to Appendix 5, which is a chart of the Temple servants, services and their remunerations in the daily ritual round.

In what follows, changes in time schedule and other general changes such as quantity and quality of food offerings (Appendix 6) remunerations of the servants will be discussed. All the specific rituals are the same unless noted to the contrary.

1. In 1900 the Temple door was opened at 5 A.M. before which the Badu priest entitled "Paliabadu" bathed all the lingams and other deities in the compound. But in 1962, the Paliabadu only goes round the Temple compound at about 6.30 A.M. and merely asperged the important lingams.

2. At 6 A.M. the "Faraka" servant who slept in the Temple the previous night opened the door of the inner sanctum in the presence of the following priests and officials: Paliabadu, Akhanda, Patri, Pujapanda, Caracāita, Parakaran, Pancādi, Parichha. In 1962, the Temple is not opened until 7 or 7.30 A.M. and the Faraka servant no longer sleeps in the Temple. Further the Paliabadu and the Caracāita remain present when the Temple is opened.

3. The Akhanda (lamp burner) servant then lighted the oil lamp in the cells at 6.30 A.M. but in 1962 this is delayed until 7 to 7.30 A.M.

4. This was followed by a waving of light called "Mangala Alati" (lit. auspicious waving of light) before the deity Lingaraj by the offerend.

5. The Paliabadu then pretended to brush the teeth of the Deity with a twig at 7 A.M. after which he removed the flowers, bela leaves etc. from the lingam. In 1962, this does not occur until about 8.30 A.M.

6. At 7 A.M. the Deity was bathed and flowers and bela leaves which had been kept from the previous night for the purpose were presented to the Deity. In 1962, this is done at about 8.45 A.M.

7. The cella was opened for an hour and a half from 7.30 to 9 A.M. to give the public an opportunity to see the Deity. During the festive months like Kartika (Oct.-Nov.), Asarha (June-July) Magha (Jan.-Feb.) large number of pilgrims visited the Temple. Therefore, it was extended for an additional hour. In 1962, this time table is late and shortened as this "Sāhāna melā" begins at 8.30 A.M. and continues for only half an hour or more on special occasions.

8. In the mean time, the Samartha servant pounded the sun dried rice, blackgram and greengram etc. supplied to him by the Endowment for the preparation of food offerings of the Deity. The potter servant also brought the required number of new earthen pots for the day's service which he delivered to the Caracaita on duty. Meanwhile, the Temple ration supplier brought the daily requirements for the day's food preparation. Such as ghee, raw sugar, pulses etc. to the Greatcook on duty. Generally the servant entitled "Parva Yatra Bisoyi" brought the daily ration from the ration supplier who was paid the cost of the ration by the Temple every month. The Greatcook then came to the Temple "Joint Kitchen" (Kotha Rosa) and the Samartha supplied him the new earthen pots and water etc. required for the cooking. There is no change in the procedures and timings in 1962.

9. The Dhopakhāl servant then cleaned the Temple kitchen and threw out the ashes from the ovens. Lime-water was then sprinkled in the kitchen. In 1962, this procedure is same except the time schedule.

10. The oblation (Homa) fire was then performed in the oven of the joint kitchen by the Offerend on duty after which the cooking began in the kitchen. In 1962, there is change in the timing and cooking starts in the Temple kitchen even before the oblation fire. In 1900, it was customary that no cooking would begin in the Temple kitchen if the oblation fire had not been performed. In 1962, sometimes, when the Offerend is late cooking starts and the Homa is done latter in the middle of the cooking.

11. The Greatbath (Mahasnān) also known as "Māgha snāna" was then arranged by the Patri servant and was given by the Paliabadu after 9.30 A.M. In 1962, the procedure is same except the time schedule.

12. The sun worship (Surya puja) was then performed at 9.45 A.M. or 10 A.M. at the Surya shrine (Map 1-13) and lasted for about half an hour. In 1962, there is no change in the ritual procedure except it is performed late and the ritual is condensed to only few minutes.

13. At 11 A.M. in 1900, the Door-keeper worship (Dwārapāla puja) was performed by the offerend and continued for about half an hour. In 1962, the ritual is observed but the ceremony is curtailed to about 5 minutes.

Meanwhile the servant entitled "Masalā" (supplier of spices) brought the spices for the preparation of betel (Bidiā) of the Deity to the Caracaita on duty. This is same in 1962.

14. The breakfast (Bālaballava supplied by the Temple confectioner was offered to Lingaraj at 10.45 A.M. In 1962 the quality and quantity of foodstuff supplied by the confectioner has been deteriorated though the remuneration to the confectioner has increased over time. The confectioner is also irregular in his deliveries.

15. Breakfast for goddess Gopalini was then arranged by the Patri servant and was offered to Her at 12.30 P.M. In 1962, it is done at about 2.15 P.M. There is also change in the amount of the food offering. A detailed that might be noted here, that in 1900, the sweets were prepared with raw sugar[1] whereas in 1962 they are made of refined sugar (Cini).

16. At 1 P.M., the morning food offering (Sakāla dhupa) of Lingaraj was held by the offerend. This procedure is same in 1962, except change in the quantity of food offered.

17. Gopalini's morning food offering was then presented to her by the offerend just after the Lingaraj's. was over. In 1962, this is done at 3 P.M. and the amount of the offering has been considerably curtailed.

18. At about 2 P.M., the "Bhogamandapa" or the "Chhatrabhoga" food offering was given to Lingaraj. The time has changed in 1962.

19. Thereafter, the inner chamber of the Deity was thrown open to the pilgrims (Darshan) for half an hour or more if necessary. In 1962, this giving of public audience (Darshan) is observed but the time has changed upto 4 P.M.

20. A food offering called, "Birakeshari ballav" was given to the Deity at 2.30 P.M. which in 1962 is done at 3 P.M.

21. The mid-day meal was then presented to the Deity Lingaraj at 3 P.M. In 1962, this timing has changed to 3 P.M.

22. Parvati's mid-day food offering was then arranged by the Parvati servant. No separate food was/is presented to Her but a portion of the food offered to Lingaraj (her husband) in the mid-day food offering was only re-presented (Samarpana) to Her. In 1962, there is change in the time schedule and in the amount of food offered.

23. A waving of light (ālati) was then performed to Lingaraj at 4 P.M. This procedure is same except change in the timing.

24. The inner sanctum was then closed and the servants and the priests on duty went to their homes to finish their evening works and to be ready for the evening rituals. In 1962, the time schedule has changed to 5 P.M.

25. At 6 P.M. the cella was re-opened by the Pāliabadu which in 1962 is delayed for half an hour i.e. 6.30 P.M.

26. The screen opening ceremony (Tera fita) another minor food offering was given to Lingaraj at 6.45 P.M. In 1962, the Temple is opened for about 7 P.M. The quantity and quality of the food offered has changed.

27. The cella was then again opened for the public (Sāhana melā) from 7 to 7.30 P.M.

28. The Deity was presented with the evening meal (Sandhya dhupa) at 8.30 P.M. In 1962, the time is earlier (8 P.M.) and the quantity and quality of food offering has been reduced.

29. At about 9 P.M. the food offering to Gopalini was presented by the offerend. In 1962, the time is earlier compared to 1900.

30. After both these food offerings giving of public audience was available to the public and visitors for half an hour or more. In 1962, this procedure is same as of 1900.

31. At 11 P.M. arrangements were made for the "Badasinghar food offering" of the Deity and ended at about 11.30 P.M. but in 1962, this is earlier than that of 1900.

32. The servant entitled, "Puspānjali", brought the mobile image of Pancapatra Mahadev to the parallel beam (Āda kātha) and offered a handful of petals (puspānjali) to the deity Pancapatra after which the Temple was closed for the night at about 12 P.M. This has changed in 1962 and the Temple is closed at about 9 P.M.

This ritual schedule is subject to change due to several mishaps such as, intrusion of a dog, entrance of a non-Hindu visitor or a scheduled caste person into the Temple compound. This is also done in case of defecation, urination, death etc. inside the Temple. All these required extensive purification rites. In such an eventuality all the food cooked for the Deity were thrown in the "Amania well" (Map 1-16) and the ritual cycle of the day was repeated again. In 1962, less importance is attached to such occurrence.

The daily ritual cycle may also be dislocated if there is a large gathering of people and pilgrims to worship Lingaraj. For example : the giving of audience may be prolonged. Finally, the time schedule given above may change completely in the months of Sagattarious (Dhanu), when the ritual sequence begins at dawn i.e. about 4 P.M. During the Candan Yatra, this time schedule is subject to change as the servants (sevākas) go out to the Bindusagar tank with the deities for boating.

The busiest time in the Temple on ordinary days were 8 A.M. to 11 A.M. and 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. In 1962, elderly local women visit the Deity with flower garlands, ghee lamps to pray for the well being of their respective families. Also, the local visitors and outsiders are reported to be more numerous since 1950. Opening of the roads, construction of the bridges and the conveyance facilities etc. are the possible reasons for the increase in the tourist traffic to the place. Especially since the construction of the new township for the state capital, more people visit the Temple on the festive days as well as on ordinary days. It is important to note that more people visit the Temple on government holidays specially during the Independence and Republic days etc.

A change has also occurred in respect to the food offering. In 1900, the foodstuffs for each offering (Dhupa) were cooked just before the respective food offerings. But in 1962, all foodstuffs are cooked at one time in the noon and are presented to the Deity in course of the day.

A growing negligence among the Temple priests is another affecting ritual change. In 1962, many priests do not attend to their duties regularly because of their secular engagements either in the new town or elsewhere. In such cases, proxies are arranged by the persons concerned. Enquiries to this regard show that this is being done only for more material benefit. For example, they will earn more in secular services than the ritual ones. There are certain services like "Palibadu, Mahasuar, Pujapanda which can not be performed by any one else except with the permission of the concerned priest.

There are less important services for example, Puspānjali, Chhatā, Hadapa nāhāk, Dhopakhāl etc. which can be done by other priests if the concerned sevak does not turn up in time or appoint any proxy. This is because, these services yield very less remuneration compared to the former ones and are minor services.

CHANGES IN SERVANTS AND THEIR SERVICES

Traditionally there were 36 different services in the daily ritual round of the Deity. The names, nature of these services, and the traditional remunerations etc. are tabulated in great detail in Appendix 5.

Since 1955, the Astrologer (31) no longer serves the Deity regularly, the post of the Telenga musician (32) has been vacant since the death of the last survivor in 1953. The washerman servant does not attend to his duties since 1953 regularly. After the electrification of the Temple since 1958-59 the barber servant (35) does not attend to his duties as it has been abandoned for the electric light. This servant prior to the electrification lighted the inner sanctum holding his traditional torch (Masāla). These lapses have been only in the last decade only. But these do not suggest the increasing rate of deterioration.

In addition, the use of proxies have increased appreciably. Personal observation of the services rendered in the Temple on July 15, 1963 (Appendix 7), reveals that there were four absentees, therefore of the 36 services 32 were rendered that day to the Deity. Of the 32 services rendered 16 were performed by actual servants and the others by six proxies.

An inspection of this list reveals clearly that the offerings in kind received daily as remuneration can have little economic value. The basic economic advantages occurring from Temple services lies primarily in tax free house plots, the returns from paddy lands that endow certain services, gifts from pilgrims or in some case actual payments made by the Endowment. Four of the 36 services have been abandoned recently.

Since the remuneration for the servants entitled Patri (7), Pantibadu (8), Garabadu (9), Hadapanaik (10) and Bhitarkhuntia (11) etc. are very small, these servants generally request a Suar youth (appointed as a Peon in the Temple by the Endowment) to perform their services. All such minor services are performed by this man in addition to his regular duties. He is sometimes paid a little cash remuneration by the concerned servants in addition to the

Endowment food offering. As the servant entitled "Greatcook" was not a trained cook, he appointed another person from the Suar community to cook for him in the kitchen on his service day. Such a proxy for the Greatcook is called as "Tali Suar". The servant entitled "Gopaluni", being a pilgrim customer (Jatri panda) requested another man to proxy for him and to manage his services. The Kothabhoga Bisoyi (24) being a business man sent one of his men to hand over the day's ration to the Greatcook on duty. The "Faraka" sevak no longer sleeps in the Temple at night.

Additional changes are to be noted in the increase of cash payments associated with certain services. The quality and sizes of the cakes (Khei) prepared for the Deity in 1962 are inferior in quality and small in size compared to 1900. This is only due to the curtailment of the traditional daily quota of the ration. Supply of adultered materials by the ration supplier is another reason for such change.

In 1962, although the ration supplier receives more money from the Endowment office compared to 1900, he still supplies adultered materials to the Temple. Therefore, the quality of the preparation is worse than before. These are only due to the lack of personal supervision of the officials of the Endowment facilitates the unscrupulous dealings by the ration supplier. In spite of several complaints and threats from the Temple servants, the Endowment authorities have not taken any steps to correct this malpractice.

Less remuneration from the Temple services, decrease in the respect etc. of the pilgrims towards the Temple servants, their own lack of knowledge about the performance of services in the Temple and the lack of priestly qualities have affected the status of the Temple priests. Therefore, they are now-a-days looked down upon for their proverty even though some of their remunerations have increased. The gradual rise in the cost of living and the proportionately lower income of the Temple servants have lowered down their prestige. In 1962, therefore, most hereditary sevakas do not pay much regard to their traditional Temple duties and present a picture of widespread demoralisation.

WEEKLY AND FORTNIGHTLY FESTIVALS

In addition to the daily ritual cycle, there was/is a weekly and one fortnightly festival called as the "Somabar bedha" (Monday festival) and the "Caturdasi bedha" (Fourteenth day festival) respectively. The former festival was/is held on every Monday and the later on every fourteenth day in each

fortnight. These festivals were observed in the Temple compound. The description of the festivals will be made in the following fashion. First, the festivals will be described as observed traditionally in the Temple compound The ritual meaning as understood by the local priests and the social parallels of the festivals will be the second number. Lastly, the changes that have taken in the festivals will be described.

Somabar Bedha (Monday Festival)

Monday is an auspicious day for Lord Śiva. So, on every Monday after the "Bhogamandapa food offering", at the instruction of the Paliabadu, the mobile images of Lingaraj, Parvati, Durga and Basudev were taken from the southern chamber to the parallel beam (Ādā kātha) by their appropriate sevakas. After the priests reached the parallel beam with the deputies, the Paliabadu gave each of them some flowers and bela leaves used by the Deity. This act of giving flower meant the authorisation of the Deity to the deputies to represent Him in the festival. The deputies were then taken to the Monday platform (Map 1-24). Before the deputies reached there, it was cleaned and decorated with flowers and foliages by the Endowment employee called "Suansiya". The "Cangada" sevaka of the day covered the stone throne (Singhasana) on the platform with bed and pillows for the deputies. After the deputies reached the platform, they were seated on this Singhasana. It should be noted here that the deputies were accompanied by the servants titled, Gong beater (Ghantua), Trumpeteer (Kahalia), Umbrella carrier (Chhata), Trasa, Barber servant (Masalachi or the torch bearer), Parichha, Parakaran, Pancadi etc. The Patri, Pantibadu, Cangada etc. also accompanied this procession to the Monday platform along with the deities.

After the deputies were seated on the Singhasana, they were bathed asperged by the offerend on duty after which they were presented with sandle paste and flowers. Then the deputies were feasted with five raw sugar candy (Gur Kora) and five balls of Muan by the offerend after which the procession returned to the Southern chamber. The food materials presented to the deputies were then distributed among the sevakas.

According to the local priests, Monday is the best day to worship Śiva for the fulfilment of vows. In the month of Kartika (Oct-Nov), the Mondays were/are treated as auspicious days and have ritual importance. The local people observe fast on Mondays and worship Śiva for the fulfilment of vows.

This festival is performed more carelessly in 1962. All the required servants do not attend the procession. The ceremony is sometimes performed by the offerend and the Patri servant in the absence of others. Gong beater and Trumpeteer sometimes remain absent in the procession. The platform is not cleaned by the Endowment employee Suansiya. Proper rituals are not done in the festival. To illustrate, the offerend sometimes present the food-stuffs to the deities in a standing position. Raw sugar candy and muan are now replaced by sugar coated muan and sugar candy. On enquiry, this author was told by a confectioner servant of the Deity that, "in 1962 they supply sugar coated sweets to the Deity, as they do not take the trouble to prepare raw sugar candy and muan. They think the later as a troublesome business but supply the muan and candy from their own shops which they sell to the public. The confectioner on duty at times stop the supply of the bhoga and in such cases the Temple office buys the bhoga from the local market.

Caturdasi Bedha (Fortnightly Festival).

Like the Mondays, every fourteenth day (Caturdasi) in each fortnight has ritual importance. This festival was/is held on every fourteenth day of each fortnight, i.e. the day before the new moon and the day before the fullmoon. On this day after the "Terāfitā" ritual the public were not allowed the darsan of the Deity in the inner sanctum. Arrangements were then made for the Great dressing (Badasinghar) of the Deity. Before this the lingam was applied with a mixture of black gram, green gram, sesamum oil, raw sugar (Ghati) by the offerend. The Paliabadu then dressed the lingam and also cleaned the inner sanctum for the food offering. The offerend then offered the bhoga to the Deity after the Greatcook brought it to the cella. Just after the food offering a waving of light was made to the Deity. No cooked food was presented to the Deity in this food offering but, ripe plantain, cocoanut, raw sugar candy and raw sugar coated muan etc. were offered. On this day the waving of light (Ālati) was done by means of a special torch (masalā). After the waving of light, the offerend handed over this torch to the Patri sevaka who took it round the Temple thrice alongwith the gong beater and the trumpeteer. After the completion of three rounds the Patri sevaka handed over the torch to the Samartha sevaka near the Southern chamber (Map 1-20) who took it to the Temple spire. Before placing this torch at the top of the Temple, the Samartha servant called the name of the

Raja of Puri thrice. According to tradition, the Raja of Puri fasted on this day until this announcement which he presumably hears at a distance of about 37 miles.

In the locality widow and elderly men and women observe fast on this day for the fulfilment of their wish. This day was/is dedicated to Śiva and the Śivaratri day which is one of the 14 important festivals of the Deity also falls on one such day. In 1962, this ritual is observed with changes in the performances. For example : the required priests do not attend the ceremony and as a result proper procedures are not followed in the ritual. The torch is not carried round the Temple compound for three times and sometimes it is handed over straight to the Samartha servant by the Patri. As in other rituals the food materials presented to the Deity have been reduced. It is rumoured, that the present Raja of Puri does not fast on this day, like the previous Rajas but the tradition of the Samartha calling the Raja of Puri on top of the Temple is still maintained. Sometimes during heavy downpour the torch (also known as Mahadipa or the Great lamp) is not taken to the Temple spire but is kept at the bottom of the Temple.

OCCASIONAL RITUALS

It is important to discuss the rituals observed in the Temple occasionally for several reasons. Such rituals were not connected to the ritual cycles of the Deity but performed in the Temple in different occasions. Of such rituals, the following are important.

1. **Deula Sodha** (Cleaning the Temple)

Traditionally, before the visit of a Raja to the Temple for a darshan and worship to the Deity, the Temple compound was ceremonially cleaned, in which the three main priests of the Deity took part, e.g. Pujapanda, Mahasuar and Badu. In this cleaning lime water was sprinkled in the Temple precinct and all the priests were driven out of the Temple compound in order to facilitate the worship of the royal family.

Then the visiting royal family went into the Temple to perform pujas to the Deity. The concerned Raja paid a fees to the Temple office for this ceremonial cleaning, which was distributed equally among the three above temple priests and the Endowment.

The Temple authorities paid/pay special respect to the Raja of Puri who

is considered as the movable Visnu (Calanti Visnu). When the Raja of Puri visited/visits, the Temple for a worship to the Deity, the Temple authorities send the Temple priests with umbrella (Chhata), Trasa, Alata, Chamar, Gong and Trumpet etc. to receive the royal family. This honour is not given to any other royal family of the State.

In 1962, no such rituals are observed in the Temple when a raja visits the Deity. But in exceptional situations the ritual is observed. For example : the Temple compound was cleaned during the recent visit of the Raja of Nepal. On enquiry, it was known that the Raja of Nepal according to tradition, did not pay anything to the Temple office towards the fees for the cleaning as he was declared a guest of the State Government.

2. **Dhokāla** (Temple purification)

It may be divided into two parts, e.g. Sāna dhokāla (Small dhokala) and Bada dhokāla (Big dhokala). This ceremony was a must in the past when a man defecated, urinated, died and a dog, untouchable and non-Hindu person entered into the Temple. As the Hindus considered these things to be impure, a ceremonial cleaning (Dhokāla) was necessary in the Temple compound.

The small dhokala (Sāna dhokāla) was held in minor events for example when a dog intrude into the Temple precinct, a non-Hindu or a untouchable person entered in the Temple compound. Urinating and defecating in the Temple precinct were also included in it.

In such events the Temple compound was cleaned and lime water was sprinkled in the compound. The Greatbath (Mahasnana) ritual was/is given to the Deity and the ritual cycle was repeated once again. This occurrence polluted the food materials if kept in the main shrine to be offered to the Deity. Therefore, all the food materials not presented to the Deity were thrown into the Amania well (Map 1-30).

The Bada dhokala (Big cleaning or ritual purification) was held in the Temple if a man died in the Temple compound. In such an event all the temples in the Temple compound were cleaned by the Temple employee "Suansiya". Even the Temple kitchen was not left uncleaned. The ashes in the kitchen ovens were cleaned by the Dhopakhal servant. After the cleaning, the Badu servants on duty performed the Greatbath ritual of the Deity and the Pujapanda did the worship etc. Such an incident occurred

in the Temple compound in 1966 when a devotee committed suicide in the Temple precinct.

3. Special Puja

Special pujas were also arranged by the Temple authorities on request by the Government. As the old records of the Temple show, such pujas were held in the Temple on request by the then Government in 1940-41 for the success of the British in the Great war. Such pujas were held for the Deity during the Great wars.

4. Fire Sacrifice

Such rituals may be divided into two parts, e.g. Homa (minor fire sacrifice) and Yangya (Major fire sacrifice). According to tradition if a vulture sat at the top of the Temple, Homa was done in the Temple by the Kshetrabasi sevakas of the Deity to avoid the evil effects of the vulture. The expenses of which were borne by the Temple authorities. In 1965 once the flag of the Temple was burnt by the Great lamp (Mahadipa) on a Caturdasi day. As this was considered to be an ill omen, a Homa was performed in the Temple.

According to my informants major fire sacrifices were observed in the Temple by the general public in order to avoid the evil effects of the planets as predicted by the astrologers. In 1957 and 1960 Yangyas were performed in the Temple compound to avoid the evil effects of the eight planets (Astagraha) on the society and to have more rain in the country for a good harvest.

In 1962, generally the ritual purification of the Temple is not done widely in the Temple as the offences are mostly ignored. These are held though not elaborately in 1962 when the offences are detected.

The fire sacrifices are also held as before in the Temple by the authorities.

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it is worth to describe certain festivals such as Savitri Amabasya, Dipavali Amabasya, Kartika Purnima which draws more pilgrims to the Temple after the establishment of the new township.

On Savitri Amabasya, Dipavali and Kartika Purnima festivals the Temple was visited by the local people only. This in 1962 had become impor-

tant days as more people visit the Deity on such occasions. As these days are also declared holidays, more people pay a visit to the Deity. On the Dipavali Amabasya day in the month of Kartika (Oct-Nov) many people visit the Temple to offer Pindas to their ancestors in the Temple compound. More people rush into the Temple for the purpose, as they get priests and other materials required for the ceremony in the Temple compound.

More people also visit the Temple on the Republic and Independence days to have a darshan of the Deity as well as for holidaying. According to the cooks of the Temple there is demand for more Prasad on such days as more people from the new town visit the Temple.

Chapter Five

CHANGES IN ANNUAL RITUAL CYCLE

There were and still are, 14 major festivals (Yatras) and seven minor festivals (Upa-Yatras) in the annual ritual round of the Deity which will be discussed in turn below.

Before describing the festivals, it is important to note the common ritual practices followed in these annual festivals. On such days, after the Mid-day food offering (Dipahara dhupa) of Lingaraj the Sun, Door-keeper and the Greatbath rituals of the morning are repeated again, in the order just mentioned. The actual festival worship (Yatra Puja) is then performed during which a food offering identical to that of the Birakeshari food offering (10th food offering of the daily ritual cycle) is repeated again.

On the Makara Sankranti and the "Magha Saptami" festivals a slight variation is marked, i.e. a special dish of "Makara caula" (Newly harvested sun dried rice, mixed with raw sugar, ripe plantain, chese etc.) and Sesamum porridge (rāsi jau) is offered to the Deity respectively, in addition to the usual menu. On the "Śivaratri" festival, special rituals are performed in addition to the usual ones which will be discussed in the description of this festival.

In 1900, on all the festive days, the food materials were brought from the Joint kitchen[1] to the place of offering by the Greatcook, accompanied by the gong beater, trumpeteer and the Sky-tambourine[2] carrier servants. The Greatcook of the day brought the food materials under the sky tambourine only to avoid the evil eyes. As per tradition, even the sun and moon in the sky, should not see the food stuffs. Therefore, a special passage covered with a terrace, exists inside the Temple precinct under which the food materials are brought for the Deity. According to another belief if the food materials are seen by anybody (even the sun and the moon) before presentation, the Deity would suffer from stomach trouble. In 1962, the food materials are brought to the inner sanctum from the joint kitchen in a separate path as the covered passage is more distant than the former. On these 14 major festive days the deities are taken to the outside of the Temple compound in six festivals and the rest are performed in the Temple precinct. On the six festive days, when the deities go out, a cocoanut is broken near Ganesh (Map 1-9) to insure the

smooth completion of the festival. On these days, the deities are taken to the outside of the Temple compound in a procession accompanied by all the 36 servants (sevakas) of the day alongwith the Temple officials, such as: Pancadi, Parakaran, Kaudibhagia, Parichhā and the Temple police etc. In 1962, such processions are only accompanied by the Patri, Pujapanda, Gong beater, Trumpeteer and none from the Temple officials accompany the procession except a Temple peon. The Hadi (sweeper caste) musicians in 1900 also accompanied these processions playing on their musical instruments. But in 1962, they have stopped joining the procession, as all of them have sold away their jāgir (Endowed) lands allotted by the Endowment for the purpose. Therefore, in 1962 the Endowment hire such musicians in important occasions like Chandan Yatra, Śiva Bibāha etc. The deputies of Lingaraj, Parvati, Durga and Basudev are taken in these processions. But during the sandal festival (Chandan Yatra) the deputy of Kapileswar[3] join the procession. The deputies of Lingaraj and Parvati are taken in a float (Vimana) whereas the others on a palanquine. On the Car festival (Aśokastami) day, the deputy of Rukmini is taken in the procession instead of Parvati.

On the festive days, the deputies are carried by their appropriate servants from the Southern chamber (Map 1-20) to the parallel beam (ada katha). After performing the necessary rituals (as in the weekly and the fortnightly festivals), the procession then passed the inner sanctum of the Temple, through the Blackmarket (Kalā-hāta) door and the water door (Pani duara). But on the Aśokastami and the Dolapurnami festivals, the deputies are taken out of the Temple through the Blackmarket and the Bibhisena doors, instead of the usual path just mentioned. As the deputies are taken by hand on such days (Aśokastami and the Dolapurnami) to the Car (Ratha) and the Swing alter (dolavedi), this new path is used by the priests. On such occasions, the deputies are taken round the Temple before going to the car and the Dolavedi. When the procession of the deities return to the Temple they are taken back to the Southern chamber through the path used at the time of leaving the Temple. At the parallel beam a meeting waving of light (Bheta alati) is done by the Pujapanda in honour of the deputies. It should also be noted here that all such processions were led by the Badu servant titled "Palia badu" on duty.

A list of materials required for the festival days, supplied by the En-

dowment is cited in Appendix 8. All the feudatory chief and the rajas of the former states now merged in Orissa State, supplied valuable textiles, gold and silver ornaments as a presentation to the Deity which have been stopped since the merger of the princely states. The florists (Mali) of Puba supplied flower garlands to the Deity on such days but this has been stopped since 1950 as the Endowment did not pay the dues of the florists in time.

These fourteen festive days were considered auspicious during which childless couples vow to fast and worship the Deity in the Temple. Married couples without issue, fasted on such days and broke the fasts after the first food offering of the Deity by eating the food of grace (Prasad) in the Temple precinct. Also, they invite brahmans as per their financial capacity, to a feast of Prasad. Such persons began the fast on the Prathamastami day which is considered to be the first festival of the year and continue the fast either for 3 or 11 years. According to the elderly priests in the Temple, number of such couples observing fast has been decreased since 1950, to which they attribute, the advancement of science, newly devised family planning methods etc. to check the population.

Before, describing the festivals, it is important to note, the ritual calendar followed in the Temple for the performance of the festivals. According to this calendar, a year has been divided into 12 months. Each month is divided into 30 days and 2 halves called "Pakshya" (fortnight). Each day in the calendar is called as "Khatani". At the end of the year the excess five days is adjusted and is known as the "Badha" (excess). The Temple months are known after the different signs of the Zodiac structure.

The fourteen festival days and the seven minor festival days will be discussed in the following pages in turn according to the fashion adopted for the weekly and fortnightly festivals. Table 5, shows the fourteen major festival days, the month and the days etc. of its occurrence.

THE FOURTEEN MAJOR FESTIVALS (Caturdasha Yatra)

The fourteen festivals observed in the Lingaraj Temple will be discussed from the Prathamastami Festival, which occurs in the month of Maragasira (Nov-Dec) and is considered to be the first festival in the annual ritual round of the Deity.

1. Prathamastami

In 1900, this day the procession of the Deity Lingaraj along with the other deputies was taken to Mitreswar Temple (Map 2-6) situated near the Kapali math situated to the west of the Temple compound. The procession, when reached the gate of the Kapali math, the monastery head received the procession cordially by falling flat on the ground after which the deputies were carried by their respective priests to the Mitreswar Temple, through the monastery compound. In the precinct of the Mitreswar Temple, the deputies were placed on the bathing platform (Snana mandapa) for a bath in the water of the Papanasini Tank located in the Mitreswar Temple precinct, and then were dressed in new clothes[4] supplied by the monastery. The deputies were then taken to the "Astami platform", where they were feasted in a Panti[5] food supplied by the monastery and the residents of the area alongwith the Endowment menu. After the food offering the deputies were taken to the deity Mitreswar where a meeting waving of light was performed and then the deputies were taken back to the Temple through the monastery compound. Another meeting waving of light was also performed by the offerend on the way back to the Temple near the goddess 'Kapāli', the presiding goddesses of the math. Then the procession returned to the Temple in the usual pomp and show.

According to a local tradition, the god Mitreswar, is considered to be the maternal uncle of Lord Lingaraj. It also reveals that the eldest niece or nephew lives long, if they are presented with new clothes by the maternal grandfather or the maternal uncle (if the former is dead). In the local society, therefore, the maternal grandfather or the maternal uncle supply new clothes to the eldest son/daughter of their eldest daughter/sisters on this day and latter is invited for food by the former. In 1962, the Temple officials, e.g. Pancadi, Parakaran, Parichha (now E.O.) do not attend the procession. The procession is now attended only by the Patri, Caracaita, Pujapanda, Gong, Trumpeteer, Torchbearer servants. A local police constable accompanies the procession to keep peace and tranquility in the procession. The Panti food supplied by the monastery and the Temple for the purpose in 1962, has been reduced in quantity. The rituals in the festival are not followed properly. To illustrate : the author observed in this year, that the offerend while offering the Panti food to the deities talked with the monastery head (Mahanta) regarding the payment of remuneration to the priests. Also, the deities were not bathed

by the water of the Papanasini tank as the Paliabadu sevaka of the day, feared to bring water from the tank through the scrub jungle. Therefore, the deputies bathed in the water brought from the nearest well. As usual, the duration of the worship has been shortened. Another noteworthy change occurred this day is that, the confectioner sevaka did not bring the sweets in time as a result the Temple bought the materials from the nearest shop.

2. Prāvarana Sasthi (Odhana Sasthi)

In 1900, on this day, after the Bhogamandapa food offering, the usual rituals for the festivals (as discussed earlier) were repeated again. Then, the Deity was dressed by the Paliabadu by a new robe called "Ghoda" or "Ghodani" (cover) made by the Daraji (tailor) sevaka. Prior to the presentation of the new robe, the images of Ganesh, Kartika, Brusava, Candeswar, Kalpabrukhsya, Narasingha and Savitri and Gopalini (also called Astadeba) were dressed in new clothes by the Patri sevaka. The Gong beater, Trumpeteer and the Sky tambourine (Meghadambaru) sevaka accompanied the Patri when he went to dress the deities. This new robe was given to the Deity during the Great dressing ritual daily from this day till the Śivaratri festival. Then a special food offering was offered to the Deity.

According to the priests, the only ritual significance of this ceremony is that the winter chill requires the Deity to be covered in a new warm cloth. As the severity of winter is not ordinarily felt after Śivaratri, it is not given to the Deity after that day.

In 1962, instead of new clothes only pieces of new clothes are presented to the "Astadeba" by the Patri servant. No one accompanies the Patri, when he goes to present the clothes to the deities. The amount of food offered in the special Yatra puja has also decreased in quantity.

3. Puṣyaviseka

This day, in 1900 prior the Bhogamandapa food offering, 108 jugs of water were brought to the Temple from the Temple tank Bindusagar by the Badu sevakas in a procession accompanied by the Gong beater, Trumpeteer and the Skytambourine carrier sevakas. The Paliabadu on duty led the procession holding a jug of water under the Skytambourine. After the preliminary rituals for the festival are over, the water brought in the new earthen jugs were poured on the Deity during the Greatbath ritual. As per

tradition, the Offerend poured the first jug of water and the rest were poured by the Paliabadu sevaka. Then the Deity was dressed in the new textiles supplied by the Endowment and the ex-Rajas and feudatory chiefs, Flowers, bela leaves etc. were then presented to the Deity. The mobile image of Parvati was then brought into the cella by Her servant and was placed near the lingam on a wooden seat (Khatuli). A food offering was then made to the Deities by the offerend. During which the courtiers[6] of the Deity stood in two lines at the Parallel beam holding their respective insignias. During the ceremony, the offerend on duty uttered sanskrit slokas praying for the long life and prosperity of the Deity and the courtiers remained standing till the end of the ceremony. The ceremony then ended with a waving of light (Alati) by the offerend.

In the palaces of the ex-Rajas and feudatory chiefs of Orissa a ceremony of royal investiture (Abhiseka) was observed in the presence of their courtiers. Though, the kingship has been declared null and void and the kings no longer exists legally, such ceremonies are still performed in the palaces of the Rajas. Since Lingaraj was considered to be a King or Chief in the Temple community such a ceremony is associated with His festivals.

In 1962, the ceremony is observed in less pomp and show. None of the courtiers join the ceremony in the Temple. The food materials supplied by Endowment is also shortened.

4. **Makara Sankranti**

This ceremony of the new eating (Nuā khiā) of the just harvested paddy is observed for two days in the ritual complex of Lingaraj, i.e. the Festival proper and the day before known as the "Nabānka".

On the Nabānka day, a procession accompanied by the Gong beater, Trumpeteer. Skytambourine carrier, Torch bearer and the Patri went to the house of the Samantara family in the Badu ward (Sāhi) alongwith the Temple police. When the procession reached the Samantara's house a member of the family joined the procession holding a jug containing pure cow's milk. Then the procession returned to the Temple and halted at the Makara Māndapa (Map 1-23) where the milk was boiled by the Greatcook Sevaka of the day and extracted the cream from the milk.

In the evening, after the Evening food offering the deputies of Lingaraj, Pārvati, Durga and Basudev were taken nine rounds in the Temple compound,

after completing the necessary rituals at the Parallel beam. In the meanwhile, the Greatcook sevaka of the day, handed over the cream derived from the boiled milk to the Mekap sevaka. This cream was then mixed with water and was kept for the next day to be used in the preparation of Makara rice.

The day following is the "Makara Sankranti" festival. On this day, prior to the Bhogamandapa food offering, the Paliabadu sevaka prepared the Makara rice. This Makara rice, a new dhoti, flowers, Endowment Panti food offering and the cream mixed with water (Ghrutakamal) etc. were then kept on the Beherana platform (Map-1-22). The Pantibadu sevaka went round the temple compound holding the Makara rice pot accompanied by the Gongbeater and the Trumpeteer. Then the Paliabadu joined this procession holding the Ghrutakamal (Creamwater) pot. After they complete one round, the Cangada sevaka joined the procession holding the new dhoti etc. At last the procession halted at the Beherana platform completing another round.

After the Greatbath ritual and prior to the Greatdressing a portion of the cream mixed with water was applied on the Deity. A food offering was then made to the Deity where a special dish of "Makara rice" was presented to the Deity. The ceremony ended with a waving of light called "Ghrutakamal Alati".

This is the new rice eating ceremony of the Deity. People in the society prepare such rice at home and share it with their family members, friends and relatives. Bachelors and spinsters establish bond friendship (Makara) by placing the Makara rice in each others mouth.

In 1962, the quantity of milk supplied by the Samantara family has been reduced and the youngest son (15 years of the Samantara instead of the household head joins the procession holding a small pot containing milk. The proper ritual procedure is not followed in the procession as the required sevakas do not join the procession. The procession on the Makara Sankranti day in 1962, only goes one round the Temple compound in which either of the three sevakas just mentioned carry the materials. It is interesting to note that a big head of Śiva is carried in this procession which is quite new to the ritual. Enquiry shows that the priests take it in the procession, as a show. The traditional procedure, that no Makara rice, prepared by outsiders can be presented to the Deity prior to the offering of the Temple preparation is no longer observed. In 1962, the local priests present the

Makara rice of their clients to the Deity well in advance. Priests also offer their respective preparations to the Deity to sell those to the public.

5. Magha Saptami

This day, in 1900, after the Bhogamandapa food offering the mobile deities of Lingaraj, Parvati, Durga and Basudev were taken to the Bhaskareswar Temple (Map 2-14) in a procession accompanied by the required sevakas after performing the necessary rituals at the parallel beam. The platform in this Temple was previously cleaned and decorated by the nearby residents. A temporary shed was also built at the platform by the Temple employee "Suansiya" and the wooden seat (Khatuli) was kept on this platform by him for the deities. After the procession reached this temple, they were bathed asperged by the offerend, afterwhich the deputies were feasted in a Panti offering supplied by the nearby residents as well as by the Endowment. After the offering the deputies were taken to the god Bhaskareswar by their appropriate sevakas where a meeting waving of light was done by the offerend. Then the deities returned to the Lingaraj Temple in the usual procession. The Deity was also offered a special dish of sesamum porridge in the Bhogamandapa food offering.

On the way back, the procession went to the Kedargouri Temple (Map 2-3) where the deputies were feasted in another Panti food offering supplied by the Endowment. Also, the gods and goddess in the Kedargouri Temple were feasted in balls of muan and raw sugar candy supplied by the Endowment.

On this day a fair is held at the foot of the Khandagiri hill where the local people gather in large number to celebrate the festival. They arrange general feasts in groups in which a dish of sesamum porridge is served.

In 1962, all the sevakas do not attend the procession. The pantifood supplied by the villagers has been reduced than before. Personal observation of the festival in 1962, show that the local people show least interest in the ceremony as they no longer clean and decorate the place of offering. As usual the Endowment menu has been reduced in quantity.

6. Sivaratri

Next to the Asokastami car festival this is one of the important festival of Lord Lingaraj. This being one of the fortnightly festival (Caturdasi bedha), the Greatlamp (Mahadipa) is first placed at the top of the Temple

spire. Then, the preliminary rituals are repeated again for the actual Sivaratri worship.

Four different worships (Puja) are made to Lingaraj after the Great-lamp was taken to the top of Temple. Prior to each worship the sun, door-keeper, greatbath and Dwarapala rituals for the day's ritual are held. According to tradition, the Raja of Puri, deputed the Raj-Guru priest of the Jagannath Temple to worship the Visnu aspect of Lingaraj, along with the local Offerend (on duty), who worships the Śiva aspect. The Tripathi family of the Kshetrabasi community read Veda in front of the Deity throughout the night and also helped the Rajguru in the puja. The Rajguru in 1900 was given a new dhoti and a cash remuneration of Rs. 3 and a free meal by the Endowment for his services. In the last or the fourth puja of the Deity, arrangements are made for the meeting of the Hari and Hara (Harihar Bheta) in the inner sanctum of the Temple. Therefore, the deputy of Dolagovinda (Hari) was brought to the cella by the Pasupalak sevaka, at the order of the Paliabadu, and a meeting waving of light was performed by the offerend. Then the "Great dressing" was held for the Deity and the Temple was closed after the Puspānjali ritual.

A fair was held in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple, where pottery and basketry goods were sold in large number. The ritual meaning of the festival as told by the local priests is that, Śiva was unconscious by drinking the poison derived from the churning of the ocean. All the gods and goddesses, therefore prayed Lord Visnu, for the well being of Śiva and at last, Śiva came to the senses, on this day. Therefore, people in the locality spend their whole night burning lamps (Jagar) either at home or in the Temple precinct to celebrate the ritual. The scheduled caste persons also observe this festival at the outskirt of the Temple compound by burning lamps. Many men and women fast on this day and break the fast after the Greatlamp is taken to the top of the Temple.

In 1962, the festival is celebrated with great change in the traditional structure of the ritual. For example ? the Rajguru has stopped coming since 1959. Enquiries in this connection shows, that, the Rajguru denied coming to Bhubaneswar for the purpose, as his traditional remuneration is inadequate for his services. The Temple authorities also have not make any other arrangements for it, therefore a local Kshetrabasi has now taken to the job of the Rajguru. As usual, the amount of food offering has been reduced

in this festival and the proper procedure is not followed. For example : an elderly Temple servant told to me in an interview that, "in each of the four pujas a cocoanut was broken near the Lingam in 1900. But in 1962, this cocoanut is generally taken away by the concerned sevaka.

7. **Asokastami**

This is the most important festival of Lord Lingaraj and this festival continues for a week in the town with great pomp and show. During this period the Deity along with his other companions visit the Rameswar Temple (Map 2-7 on a wooden chariot drawn by thousands devotees.

The preliminaries for this festival actually begins from the Basanta Pancami day when the first logs for the wooden chariot are cut by the Bauri and Maharana sevakas of the Deity. Therefore in the following description all the ritual procedures followed for this ritual will be described.

(i) **Basanta Pancami**

On this day the first log for the Deity's car is cut after the necessary rituals. Details of about this ritual has been given in the description of the minor festivals (Saraswati Puja).

In 1900, the entire car was built in new wood as the new logs of wood were supplied by the State Forest Department free of cost. For the construction of the car in addition to the local carpenter (Maharana), Blacksmith (Kamar, Bauri, Dhoba (Washermen) sevakas of the Deity. The carpenters, sawers, painters (citrakar etc. from nearby villages are invited by the Temple authorities to participate in the construction of the Car. According to the traditional custom an employee of the Endowment visited the houses of these people and invite them to participate in the construction of the Car by giving them prasad and flower garlands etc. from the Temple. All these persons participating in the construction of the Car were given daily wages and free food.

After the construction was over the Car was properly inspected by the District Engineer (Civil) after which it was drawn on the Car festival day. This was done only to check the defects of the Car as the road (on which it was drawn) was very narrow to avoid accidents.

According to the chief carpenter (Saradār Mahāranā) of the Deity, the Car was constructed according to the measurements of the Megheswar

Temple. In 1962, the size of the Car has been shortened due to the financial restrictions of the Endowment as well as for the stoppage of the free logs of wood by the State Government.

(ii) **Netrauchhab**

This ritual is observed on the day before the actual Car festival (Ratha Yatra). On this day, the wooden structure of the Car is covered with coloured clothes (Banāta) supplied by the Raja of Puri. The purification of the newly built Car is done on this day by the Kshetrabasi sevakas of the Deity after which the flag is fixed at the top of the chariot. After the purification of the Car, the ceremonial sweeping of the Car (Chherā Panharā) is done by a Suar Sevak (9 families from among the Suar community have been entrusted with this extra work for which they are paid both in cash and kind).

(iii) **Ratha Yatra**

On this day the deputies are taken in a procession accompanied by all the required sevakas to the newly constructed Car to be taken to the Rameswar Temple. When this procession reaches the Car the deputies are taken to the Car after completing three rounds at the Car. The Car is then pulled by the spectators and devotees to the Rameswar Temple in the presence of all the dignified officers of the district (Superintendent of Police, District Magistrate etc.). It should also be noted here that the Raja of Puri supplied the coir ropes for the pulling of the Car. But since 1958 the Temple authorities purchase both the coloured clothes and the coir ropes as the Raja of Puri has stopped sending these materials for the purpose.

On the way to the Rameswar Temple the deputies are feasted in Panti foods by the Sivatirtha, Gopal tirtha, Kapali and Bharati monasteries. The Caste-Associations of the Temple functionaries (Badu, Suar and Pujapanda nijogas) also present Panti foods and sweetened water (Adharpana) to the deities both on the way to Rameswar Temple and back.

After the Car reaches the Rameswar Temple the deputies are taken to a separate temple for five days. During these five days regular puja is made to the deputies by the appropriate sevakas.

It is important to note that on this day when the Car is drawn to the Rameswar temple a Puja is held in the paddy land to satisfy the demons to

lift the Car from the mud. According to tradition 2 demons (Kruti and Vasa) hold the Car here in the paddy land (The Car passed through a paddy land on the way to Rameswar temple). In 1962, this paddy land no longer exists as it has been metalled by the local municipality. In case, if the Car does not move, the Bauri sevakas of the Deity are requested by the Temple authorities to pull the Car from the mud for which they were given a feast by the Temple Endowment.

(iv) **Bāhuda Yatra**

This is the last day of the Asokastami festival and the deputies are taken back to the Lingaraj Temple in the usual pomp and show. As said earlier, Panti foods and Sweetened water offering to the deputies are presented by the monasteries and the nijogas.

When the Car reaches the Kapali math on this day, the deputy of Parvati is brought to the Car on a palanquine in a procession accompanied by the Parvati sevak. When the procession reaches the Car, the Parvati sevak takes a piece of wooden plank from the Car as a sign of anger (on behalf of Parvati) as Her husband (Lingaraj) did not take her in the Car to the Rameswar Temple. (This piece of wooden plank is used in the construction of the barge for the Candan Yatra). Therefore, the barge is not purified (Pratistha) ceremonially like the Car on the Akshyaya trutiya day as a portion of the Car is used in the construction of the barge.

The deputy Parvati is then taken to the Cahani Mandap (Map 1-12) situated at the north-eastern compound wall of the Temple. After the Car reaches the destination a panti food is again offered to the deputies on the Car. At this time a similar Panti is also presented to Goddess Parvati by another offerend (on this day 2 offerends are required for the purpose).

Then the deputies are taken to the Temple in the usual procession by the appropriate sevakas. When the procession reaches the southern chamber the southern entrance to the Jagamohan is closed by the Parvati sevak, as a result the procession of the deputies cannot go into the Temple. At this time a mock conversation (Bachanikā) is done here by 2 offerends of the day. This mock conversation ends and the Parvati sevak opens the door of the Temple when Lingaraj satisfies Parvati's anger and promises her to take her to the ensuing barge festival. Then the deputies are seated in their respective seats after the usual rituals.

This Car festival goes back to the epic Ramayan. Prior to the Rama Ravan war, Ramachandra worshipped Lord Śiva near the Rameswar Temple to come out victorious in the war. Lord Śiva appeared before Ramachandra to bless him. Therefore, Lord Lingaraj visits this Temple every year on this day.

The local tradition, that Rameswar Temple is the mother's sister's house of Lord Lingaraj as there is no female figure in the former Temple. Hence, it is not true.

On the Asokastami day local people bathe in the Asoka jhar (tank situated near the Rameswar Temple) and ate the newly blossomed As´okā flower. Bachelors and Spinsters establish bond friendship (As´okā) by placing the As´okā bud in each others mouth.

In 1962, in addition to the common changes like the reduction of Panti food materials, the height of the Car has been shortened. As the town roads have been widened and the Car has been shortened, no Engineer comes to inspect the Car. The traditional method of invitation to the outside artisan castes to participate in the construction of the Car has been stopped as the Temple authorities now send them news to join the work. The payment of daily wages of the outside carpenters etc. as well as the sevak carpenters has been raised due to rise in the cost of living. The Temple now-a-days buys the coloured clothes (Banāta) and the rope as the Raja of Puri no longer supplies these for the festival.

8. Damanaka Caturdashi

This day after the Evening food offering, arrangements are made for the "Festival worship". The deputies are then taken to the Tirtheswar Temple (Map 2-8) in the usual procession. Here, at this Temple, the deputies are placed on the wooden seat kept by the Temple Sûansiya under the temporary shed, constructed by the Sivatirtha math. Here the deputies are bathed asperged after which they are decorated with flowers and specially by Da-a-nā (artemisia cina) leaves supplied by this math. The deputies are then taken to the Temple of Tirtheswar after the Panti food offering for a meeting waving of light. Then the deputies return to the Temple in the usual procession.

A fair is held in the immediate neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar on this day to celebrate this festival.

In 1962, all the required priests do not attend to the procession of the

deities. No temporary shed is constructed by the Sivatirtha math and the Panti food has been reduced in quantity as before.

9. **Akshyaya Trutiya** (Sandal festival)

During the scorching heat of the sun the ceremony is observed in which the deputies dispost themselves in the evening for 22 days on a wooden capa (barge) in the Temple tank Bindusagar. A wooden barge is built before the Akshyaya trutiya ceremony by the carpenter sevakas of the Deity. It must be noted here that no ceremony corresponding to the purification ceremony is held for this barge because the piece of wood broken by Parvati sevak from the deity's Car (on the Bahuda Yatra day) is used in the construction of the barge. The last two days of this festival is spent in singsong sessions and merrymakings. Throughout the 22 days the deputies of Lingaraj, Parvati, Basudev and Kapilanath (Presiding deity of Kapileswar Temple, also considered as the Minister of Lingaraj) join the procession and are rowed in the barge. The deputy of Kapilanath is taken in a procession accompanied by His servants to the Lingaraj Temple Lions gate, where, it joins the procession of Lord Lingaraj. This procession of the deputies is taken to the Basudev bank of the Bindusagar tank where the deputies are placed on the barge. Then the boat is rowed by the Keuta (Fisherman) sevakas of the Deity to the island Temple (Jagati) located in the middle of the Tank. On the way to the island temple, the deputies are presented with a Panti by the Sankarananda math. According to the elderly informants, one ex-landlord who happened to be a member of the Endowment Committee also presented such a Panti food offering to the deputies at the eastern bank of the tank but this has been stopped since 1949 after the death of this landlord.

On the island temple, the deputies are placed on the "Singhasana" after which they are bathed in water mixed with sandal paste supplied by the Sivatirtha math. But this math has stopped supplying sandal wood paste from 1960 to the deputies. The deputies are then presented three subsequent Panti foods in the island temple. Then the deputies are rowed to the (Bisram Mandira) Rest Temple located to the west of the tank and after a Panti food offering here in this Temple, they are taken to the Temple in the usual procession. On the way back, the Suar, Pujapanda and the Badu Niyogas (caste associations) present Panti food to the deputies. Sivatirtha and the Gopaltirtha monasteries also offer pantis to the deputies, when the

procession passes by their maths. The Endowment authorities hire dancing boys (dressed as girls) to sing and dance in this procession. At the Lion's gate of the Lingaraj Temple, the deputy of Kapilanath go straight to His Temple in a procession led by His sevakas. Then Lingaraj and the others are taken to the "Wind eating platform" (Ba-a-khia mandap) (Map 1-21) where they take rest for about an hour during which the dancing boys dance and sing. After this, the deputies are taken to the southern chamber. This procedure is followed for the first 20 days and during the last 2 days additional rituals are observed in addition to the usual ones. For example : on the 21st day called as "Bhaunri", the barge is taken round the temple tank for seven times and on the last i.e. 22nd day, the deputies are bathed in turmeric water (Haladi pāni). On the last 2 days, the local priests particularly the suar, Pujapanda and the Badu Nijogas arrange singsong sessions and feasts in their Nijoga premises.

In 1962, the sevak titled, "Masālaci" (torch bearer) do not attend to the procession regularly as a result, a lantern light is being carried in the procession. The oilmen (Teli) servants of the Deity as usual carry the torch (Trisākhā) in the procession. One noteworthy change occurred in 1962, is the sanction of khei to the servants titled Keuta (boat rower), Masalaci (Barber), Teli (trisakha) which they were deprived of in 1900. Enquiries to this regard showed, that much sevakas did not receive any such remuneration prior to this but this was possible since 1962, due to the efforts of the "Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti". The panti foods offered to the Deity in 1962 has been reduced in size as well as in quality and taste of the food materials. Elderly priests in this connection say that, the Endowment authorities have cut short the usual ration supply. The Sankarananda and Sivatirtha monasteries also have reduced the panti food offering in 1962 compared to 1900. This reduction in the Panti has taken place since the monasteries are made over to the State Endowment Commission in 1955 (?).

10. Parsuram Astami

This day after the Bhogamandapa food offering, the deputies are taken to the Parsurameswar temple (Map 2-13) in the usual procession accompanied by the required servants. At this temple, the deputies are bathed asperged by the offerend, after which they are dressed in sandal paste and flowers. Then the Endowment Panti food is presented to the deputies after

which they are taken to the Deity Parsuram for a meeting waving of light. Prior to this, the Deity Parsuram is also offered a Panti by the offerend. Then the procession returned to the Temple. In 1900, this procession was led long before sunset, as the Temple was surrounded by dense forest whereas in 1962, the procession is led in the evening.

Lingaraj visits this Temple on this day, to handover the guardianship of the world to Parsuram because He sleeps from this day, for a period of four months. Parsuram, is considered to be the legendary hero of such valour that he can be entrusted unaided with the guardianship of the world.

According to the local belief, malevolent spirit, cause havoc in the society after the Deity's sleep. Therefore, Cholera spread out in the locality. In the town, the residents arranged sankirtans (reciting the name of gods) to please the local gods and goddess to guard the locality. According to the elderly informants the people even did not come out of their houses alone after evening for the fear of the spirits. Local people in groups arrange feasts in this Temple on this day.

In 1962, the required number of sevakas do not attend to the procession and there is a change in the time schedule of the procession. The Panti food offering has been reduced compared to 1900.

11. Sayan Caturdashi

As said earlier in festival No. 10 (Parsuram Astami), Lingaraj sleeps from this day. According to the local priests, as Lingaraj falls ill, He takes rest for four months and is given herbal pills[10] supplied by a local Vaidya physician. It must also be noted here that Lord Jagannath, also fells ill after the bathing festival (Snānapurnami) as water is poured on Him. After the bathing festival, Jagannath and other deities are given herbal roots and fruits alongwith the herbal medicine. Taking the advantage of the Deity's sleep the unworshipped deities (Apujā devatā) cause havoc and the outbreak of Cholera is generally attributed to such deities. In 1900, a number of people died out of Cholera due to insanitary conditions, water and food etc.

This day, the ceremony is observed in the Temple itself. After the Evening food offering the usual rites are repeated again. Before the "Greatbath" (Mahāsnana) ritual arrangements are made for the preparation of the five nectar (Pancāmruta). Then the images of Parvati and Lingaraj are brought to the inner sanctum, where they are bathed in the five nectars

by the offerend. Then 20 balls (Bhadā) of muan are offered to the deities which is followed by a waving of light. After this, the deputy of Lingaraj is kept inside a small box by the offerend, pretending the Deity's sleep. This box is then made over to the Temple store-keeper for its safe keeping.

In 1962, there are several changes though the ceremony is still observed in the Temple precinct. The amount of the five nectar has been reduced (from 5 seers to 1 seer) compared to 1900. Because, in 1900, the deputies bathed in the five nectars whereas in 1962, they are only asperged in it.

12. Pabitrāropan (Paitā Āropana)

This day, the Deity Lingaraj alongwith others (Kalpabrukhya, Ganesha, Parvati Kartika, Garuda and Gopalini) are given new sacred threads. This wearing of the new sacred thread ensures the long life and prosperity of the Deity.

The sacred threads presented to the deities are given by the weavers of Puba, a village in the zamindary estate of Lord Lingaraj. At first the Paliabadu prepares three sacred threads in a special manner tying 12, 9 and 6 arecanuts in three threads respectively. The arecanuts are tied with the sacred thread by means of silken threads in a special manner. After the sacred threads are ready these are taken to the Temple tank Bindusagar on a metal place by the Paliabadu accompanied by the Gong beater, Trumpeteer and the Skytambourine carrier. These threads are dropped in turmeric water at the tank and the procession then returns to the Temple. In the Temple, the threads are handed over to the Temple store-keeper for safe keeping for the ceremony. All these rituals are performed on the day prior to the actual ceremony.

On the Pabitrāropana day after the Bhogamandapa food offering and at the time of the Festival worship, the threads are presented to the Deity Lingaraj by the offerend. The other deities are also presented with new threads by the Patri servant of the day. After the ceremony is over the threads and arecanuts presented to Lingaraj are distributed among the Badu servants and the Offerends as follows: 18 arecanuts to Badus and 9 to Offerend.

In 1962, the sacred threads are not prepared in the special manner. The weavers of Puba no longer supply the threads since 1950 as a result the Temple authorities buy it from the local market. The arecanuts and the

threads are not properly distributed among the concerned sevakas as the nuts are being taken away by others prior to the distribution. Proper ritual procedures are not adopted in the ceremony. For example : the threads are being taken to the Temple tank without the skytambourine carrier.

13. Yama Dutivā

This festival is observed in a religious month (Kartika) sacred to the Hindus. According to tradition, prevalent in the local society, Lingaraj visits the Yameswar Temple to get rid of the punishment of Yama (God of death) after death.

After the Bhogamandapa food offering and the Festival worship, the deputies are taken to the Yameswar Temple (Map 2-5) in a procession accompanied by the appropriate servants. At this temple, the deputies are bathed asperged and presented with sandal paste and flowers supplied by the Bhārati Math. Then the deputies are feasted in a panti food supplied by the said math as well as the nearby residents. All these rituals are then performed under a temporary shed constructed in the precinct of the Yameswar Temple by the Bauri tenants of the Bhārati math. The deity Yameswar is also offered with a separate Panti supplied by the Temple and the monastery. Then a meeting waving of light is done in the inner sanctum of the Yameswar Temple by the Offerend in the presence of the deputies.

The deputies are then taken to the Bhārati monastery where they are feasted in a panti supplied by the monastery and the deputies are then taken back to the Temple after a meeting waving of light in the Kāmākshi temple[11] located in the premises of the math.

People in the locality visit the Yameswar Temple to get rid of the punishment of Yama after their death. Brothers also visit their married sisters house at the later's request, where, they are served with food. According to tradition, if the sisters serve food to the brothers the latter live long. Therefore, Lingaraj visit the Temple of Kāmākshi, who is supposed to be His sister. Women observing the Kartika ceremony also visit the Temple of Yameswar to get rid of the punishment of Yama after death.

In 1962, this procession is attended only by the Offerend Patri, Gong beater, Umbrella carrier (carrier of royal insignia) and the Trumpeteer servants. The procession of the Deity delayed in 1962 due to the quarrel of the palanquine and float bearers with the Temple Executive Officer in

connection with the allotment of temple land to these sevakas. Therefore, the procession of the Deity reached the Yameswar Temple at 13·00 hours at night. This year, a quarrel occurred between the Temple priests accompanying the Deity with the monastery head regarding the payment of remuneration. The deputies then returned to the Temple immediately after the Panti food offering and the meeting waving of light at the Kāmākshi Temple.

14. Uthapana Caturdashi

This festival is observed in the Temple precinct. This day, during the Festival worship, the image of Lingaraj is brought out by the offerend, as the Deity is supposed to wake on this date. In 1900, while bringing out the image from the box, the offerend uttered Sanskrit hymns, requesting the Deity to get up from sleep.

In 1962, the ceremony is observed in the inner sanctum of the Temple and the offerend do not utter any Sanskrit hymn while bringing out the image from the box.

Let us now discuss the 7 minor festivals (Upa Yatras) observed in the Temple in the annual cycle of the Deity.

UPA YATRAS (Minor festivals)

In addition to the 14 major festivals there were and still are in 1962, seven minor festivals in the annual ritual cycle of Lingaraj. Though, these festivals are not performed in the Temple as elaborately as those of the major festivals, still are observed by the Temple priests according to the tradition. On these festivals no Yatra Puja (Festival worship) is performed in the Temple.

Here, in the following paragraphs the same procedure (as the Yatras) will be followed for describing the minor festivals. In Table 6, the month, day, date, etc. of the minor festivals are described.

1. Saraswati Puja

The ceremonial beginning of the construction of the Deity's car starts from this day. The Saraswati (the goddess of learning) Puja is considered to be an auspicious occasion when new construction are undertaken in the local society. Therefore the construction of the Deity's car starts from this day.

After the Birakeshari food offering on this day, the deputies of Lingaraj, Parvati, Durga and Basudev are taken to the mango grove (Map 2-8) called "Baba Tota" in a procession accompanied by all the required sevakas. The elevated platform in this grove was previously decorated and a temporary shed was constructed here on the platform by the employees of the Sivatirtha math. The deputies, after reaching the mango grove are seated on the platform and are then bathed asperged by the offerend. A Panti is then offered to the deputies supplied by the nearby residents and the said math, alongwith the Temple menu. A ball of muan is then offered to the Deity "Sukhmeswar" located near the mango grove. The deputies are then taken to the Sukhmeswar Temple where a meeting waving of light was done by the offerend. Then the deputies returned to the elevated platform and were placed on their respective seats in the palanquine and the float. In the meanwhile, the offerend worshipped the new axes of the Bauris to cut the first log for the Deity's car. After the worship of the axes, the Bauri sevakas of the Deity cut the mango trees for the construction of the car, according to the direction of the Head carpenter sevaka. The deputies then returns to the Temple.

In the society, people start new constructions on this day. The mango grove has been leased out to private persons by the Endowment, as a result, the traditional path leading to the platform from the Temple has been occupied and the procession of the Deity now goes on the public road. As there is no mango tree in this grove since 1960, the Temple authorities plant a new tree every year which is ceremonially touched by the axes according to the tradition. In 1962, the offerend only worships the axes and then touches it with the newly planted mango tree. The Sivatirtha math in 1962 has reduced the Panti food offering of the deities. It no longer constructs the temporary shed for the Deities. Enquiries to this regard, reveal that the State Endowment Commission has reduced the expenditures of the festival observed in the math.

2. Bhoumi Ekadashi

Lingaraj with the other deities visit the Temple of Bhimeswar (Map 2-9), on this day, to honour His promise before Bhima, the hero of Mahabharat epic. Here, in this Temple, the images of the five Panda brothers have been installed. Lingaraj (Śiva) being satisfied with Bhima, visited this place, where

later on a temple was built. It is also said that Bhima fasted on this day, who even can not go the briefest time without food.

After the Bhogamandapa food offering, the deputies are taken to the Bhimeswar temple in a procession and are feasted in a panti food supplied by the Temple Endowment after completing the preliminary rituals. A meeting waving of light is also done here in this temple in the presence of Bhimeswar and the mobile deputies. On the way back to the Temple, the deputies are again feasted in a Panti food offered by the Bhārati monastery and the residents of the Yameswar Patna sahi on the Ganesh mandap located near the Bhārati monastery. After the panti is offered, the deputies are taken back to the Temple.

In the local society, men and women bath in the tank located near the Bhimeswar Temple. The priests of Lingaraj Temple also arrange feasts in this temple in groups.

In 1962, the time schedule of the procession has been changed. To illustrate : in 1900, the procession went to the Bhimeswar Temple before sun set, as the temple was surrounded by scrub jungle but in 1962, the procession is delayed as no such feat exists, as the area surrounding the temple has been occupied by immigrants for residential purposes.

3. Kapila Yatra

This festival, otherwise called as "Hāndi bhangā Yatra" (lit. Pot breaking festival) is observed in the Kapileswar Temple (Map 2-20) to which Lingaraj and the other deputies are taken in the required procession. According to tradition, Kapilanath, the presiding deity of the Kapileswar Temple, once prayed Lingaraj for a boon and Lingaraj granted him his request. According to the local tradition, Lingaraj appeared in person before Kapilanath to grant him the boon. Therefore, Lingaraj visits, the Kapileswar Temple on this day every year. It is also believed that, anybody after eating the food of grace (Mahaprasad) of this Temple, if breaks the earthen cooking pot at the spot, his/her soul would rest in peace, so long as the broken pots remain on earth.

The deputies of Lingaraj and others are taken in a procession to the Kapileswar Temple (Map 2-20) accompanied by all the priests. At the Kapileswar Temple, the deputies are seated on the "Hāndi bhangā mandapa" (lit. Pot breaking platform) where they are offered a panti food by the

Kapileswar Temple Endowment along with the Temple menu after completing the required rituals there. Then the deputies are taken to the sanctum of the Kapileswar Temple, where a meeting waving of light is done by the offerend of Lingaraj Temple.. A ball of muan on behalf of the Lingaraj Endowment was also offered to Kapilanath. On the way back to the Lingaraj Temple, the deputies are feasted in 2 Panti foods in the Mallia and the Khuntia wards of Kapileswar village.

This day people from Bhubaneswar arrange feasts in this Kapileswar temple and broke the cooking pots at the spot. Even high class Sasana brahmans took their meals in this temple on this day, which they did not take on other days.

In 1962, the ritual procedures has been curtailed as the other festivals. The food materials in the pantis have been reduced in quantity in 1962 compared to 1900. An interview with the resident of Kapileswar reveals that, people at the present hard days, do not bother about the panti food etc. of the deputies as they are always engaged in their day to day affairs. This shows, how poverty has decreased respect towards gods and goddesses.

4. Dola Purnami

This is the autumn festival of Lord Krishna an aspect of Visnu. This festival common in all Vaisnavite temples was/is also observed in the Lingaraj Temple, as Lingaraj is a synthesis of Śiva and Visnu. The deputies are offered red powder (Sk. abira) which ensues long life of the Deity. As per a local tradition, abira gets rid of all diseases.

This festival is observed in the Temple for five days prior to the actual Swing festival (Dola Purnami) on which the deputies are taken to the swings[12] located near the Temple. On the first day, the deputy of Madanmohan is taken round the Temple precinct for three rounds by the servant titled, "Pasupalaka" after the Bhogamandapa food offering accompanied by the Gong beater, Trumpeteer, Chhata and the Trasa sevakas. Then, on the subsequent days, the deputies are taken in a procession to the Bhārati monastery, Parakaran Sahi, Pathuria Badu sahi, Kapalidevi sahi, respectively where they are feasted in several panti foods. It should be noted here that on all these days the deputies are presented in a special menu called, sakara, cana etc. On the day before the Dola Purnami festival, the youths of Suar community and the Badu society arrange a ceremonial fire in two places, one

at the present old town bus stand (Mahākhalā) and the other near the Vaital Temple. These youths in 1900, procure fuel for the fire forcibly from the people. According to tradition, the torch bearer of the Deity (Barber) lights the heaps of fuel when the procession of the deputies are taken to these places.

The day following is the widely observed Dola festival. This day after the morning food offering (Sakāla dhupa) of the Deity, the deputies of Lingaraj, Parvati and Dolagobinda are taken to the swing altars by their appropriate servants by hand. The swing altars are previously decorated by the employees of the Temple Endowment for the purpose. In the evening a feast is given to the Temple servants of the Deity by the Sankarananda monastery. On this day, in the evening, the servant, titled "Abadhān" (Astrologer) reads the new almanac of the ensuing year before the deputies in both the swing altars. At about 11 P.M., the deputies are taken back to the Temple.

In the local society, the newly married couples visits their father-in-laws houses on the latter's request. They are given new clothes by their father-in-laws. People throw red powder on their joking relatives. The day after Dola is widely known "Holi" festival during which, throughout the country coloured water is thrown to the public by the people.

In 1962, the panti foods as usual have been reduced both in the Temple menu as well as in the private panties, supplied by the public in general. The Śivatirtha math has stopped the feast since 1952, as the E.C. has cut off the expenditure for this.

5. Siva Bibaha

Lingaraj, the presiding Deity of the Temple, married Parvati, on this day at the place where the present Kedar Gouri Temple (Map 2-3) stands. The marriage of the Deity is performed like a human marriage. The day before the marriage is "Mangana" ceremony when the eight goddesses[13] (Asta candi) are bathed by a Kshetrabasi brahman. The deputy of Parvati is bathed in the bathing water of the eight goddesses on the night after which the deputies of Lingaraj, Parvati, Basudev and Kapilanath are taken to the Kedar Gouri Temple for the marriage ceremony. Before, the procession of the deputies leave the Lingaraj Temple, the servants of the day along with the priests of Kapileswar Temple are feasted by the Lingaraj Temple

authorities. The servants of the Deity are fed as they are considered to be the bridegroom party. The marriage ceremony is performed by the Kshetrabasi brahmans. After the marriage is over the deputies are taken back to the Temple in a procession. On the way back to the Temple, a wooden elephant accompanies the Deity in the procession. The Suar and the Kshetrabasi Nijogas display fire works in the procession and the deputies are feasted in Panti foods by the Suar, Puja panda and Badu Nijogas. The marriage is consumated on the fourth day, when the deputies of Lingaraj and Parvati are taken to the Ananta Basudev Temple (Map 2-9) where a fire sacrifice is held. The Kshetrabasi, on the fourth day also display fire works near Bindusagar tank in honour of the deities. Without going into the detail of the marriage ceremony, we can say that the human marriage rites are followed in the marriage of the Deity.

On this day, people in large number visit the Kedar Gouri Temple for a bath and to see the married deities. Local residents also arrange feasts in this temple in groups and arrange singsong sessions.

In 1962, the Temple authorities have enlarged the marriage procession. For example : the Bauri drummers are hired to play with their musical performances, as the Hadi servants of the Deity have stopped joining the Deity's procession. The Kshetrabasis and the Nijogas have stopped displaying fire works as a result the Temple office has entrusted a local man to display fire works in the procession on cash payment. Due to the internal disorganisation in the Puja panda and Badu Nijogas, the Panti food at these places have been stopped. In 1962, the local youths arranged a colourful procession by collecting money from the residents. This year they added dancing girls and spent a lot of money in displaying fire works. The number of spectators have also increased in 1962 to see the marriage procession of the Deity..

6. Janmastami

This festival common to Visnu temples is held in the Lingaraj Temple, as Lingaraj is the combination of both Hari and Hara. The birth celebration of Lord Krishna is observed in the Temple, as described in the sacred text "Bhagabat".

On this day, after the Bhogamandapa food offering, the Gong beater and the Skytambourine carrier go to the houses of three Suar families

(surname Panda and Mahapatra) to invite them, to participate in the Janmastami ritual to be observed in the Temple. Three Suar males (dressed as Narada, Ugrasena and Basudev) joining this procession return to the Temple. When this procession reach the Temple, the three appropriate persons wait at the Beherana platform (Map 1-22) till the arrangements are made for the ceremony. At first some rituals are done in the southern chamber after which the persons dressed as "Ugrasena" carried the image of Krishna, silently till they pass the sacred sign "Yamuna" (in front of the Ganesh near the southern chamber, in the Temple precinct). After this sacred sign is crossed, torches (Masala) are lighted and the Trumpet and Gong etc. are played by the respective sevakas. Then the procession comes to the naval cutting platform (Nāhi katā mandapa) (Map 1-25) where the birth rituals of Krishna is observed. The birth celebration of Lord Krishna as mentioned in the epic Bhagabat is observed in the Lingaraj Temple. This ritual was/is widely observed in the brahman sevaka families in the locality.

In 1962, the ceremony is still observed in the Temple though several changes have taken place in the celebration. In 1962, in the absence of the torch bearer (Barber), a lantern light is carried in the procession by a hired person. According to my elderly informants, the birth rituals are not done properly. The remuneration of the persons participating in the ritual has been stopped in certain cases. For example: they no longer receive new clothes from the Endowment since 1960, what they got in 1900.

7. Durgastami

On this day, Lingaraj, along with the other deputies visit the Gosareswar Temple (Map 2-16) in the required procession. Lingaraj visits this place to expiate the sin, of having slapped Brahma. This ceremony re-enacts the following legend. Śiva slapped the god Brahma (who has five faces) as a result, Brahma lost one of his faces in action which remained attached to the hand of Śiva. Śiva was deplecontrite. After meditation for several years, one day, He was told to visit the Gosareswar Temple (Map 2-16) to take a bath in this tank and to worship the Deity to expiate the sin of having killing a brahman.

After the evening food offering, the deputies of Lingaraj alongwith the other deputies are taken in a procession to the Gosareswar Temple. At the Gosareswar Temple, the deputies are seated on the elevated platform infront

of the said Temple, after which they are bathed in the water of the Gosareswar tank. A panti is then offered to the deputies by the residents as well as by the Endowment. Then the deputies are taken to the Gosareswar Temple, where a meeting waving of light is made by the offerend. Five balls of muan are also presented to the five different deities installed in the precinct of Gosareswar Temple along with the presiding deity Gosareswar. On the return journey to the Temple, the deputies are feasted in four pantis by four individual persons in the Godpokhari sahi.

This day, the local residents take bath in this tank to get rid off their sin committed in their life time.

In 1962, the umbrella and trasa sevaka did not accompany the procession. The number of Panti food offered to the Deity in different places has been reduced in 1962 compared to 1900.

An analysis of the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5 reveal, changes in food offerings, servants and their services, emoluments and changes in the daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly and annual rituals and to some extent the attitude of the people. These are discussed in turn below.

A decline in quality and quantity of food presented to the Deity does not mean that there has been deterioration in the cooking but only in the materials supplied by the Endowment for the preparation of food materials. The preparation of food, has not been impaired because by 1962, it has become a profitable business for the temple cooks. The deterioration of food offering lies in the small quantity provided by the Endowment and in the use of the adultered materials. This deterioration affects the temple priests because their emoluments are reduced. The food offering of Gopalini has been decreased even though the amount for it has increased to Rs. 1.20 paisa in 1962 compared to 4 annas (25 paisa) in 1900. Similarly, in the Deity Ballav offering of the Deity the quantity of Kora and Khai have reduced. Also, the food stuff supplied by the confectioner would have been unacceptable in 1936, when white sugar was though to have been made from the bones of the dead persons. This traditional belief among the local residents has now been abandoned. In many cases, certain items of the food offerings have replaced with the others. To illustrate : The "Sarapana" (lit. Cream sweetend water) preparation, presented to Lingaraj in the mid-day food offering has been replaced by ordinary raw sugar water (Gur pana).

Further, carelessness is marked in the presentation of the food materials to the Deity. In 1900, the kora and khai were presented to the deities in new earthen cups daily whereas in 1962, this has been replaced by leaf cups. In minor cases, the receipients of the food offerings have changed. For example: the remuneration of the confectioner on duty was taken by the others in 1962 The remuneration of the Paliabadu and the Offerend in the worship is taken by any one of them because the quantity of the remuneration in 1962 has so far decreased that it is considered inconsequential. Even though, the cash remunerations to some of the servants have been increased by the Endowment, this practice of taking others due, is still in practice.

Proxies and absence without notification is a regular occurrence among the priests in 1962. Personal observation of daily services and the festivals in the ritual cycle of the Deity shows that the exception of important functionaries like Offerend, Paliabadu, Caracaita, Greatcook, there are regular proxies and frequent absences. In 1962, a woman (Laxmi Bewa) has been listed as the supplier of spice (Masalā) after the death of her husband as she had no male issue. She has applied to the Endowment authorities to accept her residence son-in-law instead of her. Secular occupations in the new town and in other spheres, less remuneration for sacred services and the less prestige associated with these services because of the poor remuneration are the main reasons for absences and arrangement of proxies in the Temple services. In 1900, all the priests were engaged in the temple and the allied services as there were no other occupations at hand. But in 1962, due to the availability of secular occupations like civil service, business and other allied services in the new capital, the reverse is true. Therefore, young, educated priests prefer to work in secular sphere than in the Temple. In such cases, they spend the minimum time required for the worship or for their services.

Two of the daily services in the daily ritual cycle have been abolished or dropped. For instance: the post of the Telenga musician has fallen vacant since 1953, for lack of a suitable replacement after the death of the last incumbent. After the electrification of the main temple, the position of the Torch bearer (Masalaci) has been abolished. The washerman and the astrologer servants, have stopped coming to the Temple. It is important to note that the decline has taken place primarily in the 1950's. The procession of the deputies on festive days are always late due to the miscellaneous engagements of the sevakas. As the surrounding area of the sacred town

has been cleared for the residential buildings, there is less fear of wild animals etc. at night. Therefore, the processions in 1962, is frequently late. Further, general delay in the ritual procedures, has changed the scheduled time for the food offering. There is also change in the time of the ritual performances. For example : the food offerings which lasted for hours in 1900 are finished with few minutes because of the less interest in the profession and lack of the proper training in the occupation. As a result, ritual pretence prevails more among the priests. The happenings of the Yama dutiya day in 1962 in the Bhārati math is a case in point.

In the annual ritual cycle, the changes are also evident. The traditional path for the procession of the Deity in some cases has been occupied by private persons as a result the procession of the Deity go on the public road. The traditional officials of the Endowment do not attend the procession of the Deity in 1962.

The Hadi musicians who always accompanied the procession of the Deity in 1900 no longer do so in 1962. But they collect tips from the stall-keepers on festive days. Further, the Temple authorities hire the Bauri musicians to accompany the processions of the Deity. This shows, lapse of services of the Hadi drummers. The Bauris who made temporary roads for the car in 1900 in the paddy lands, no longer do so in 1962, as the paddy fields are turned into metalled road. Thus, the construction of the road has changed the sacred duties of a section of temple servant.

The traditional importance of the festivals are gradually losing value among the people. Except a few orthodox people, none observe the fasts and celebrate the festivals. The traditional belief that Lingaraj is the giver of sons is gradually decreasing mostly due to modern schooling and development of science. Only the Car festival, Śivaratri festival still draw a considerable number of spectators from the new town and the nearby villages. Increase in the number of spectators does not mean that all come to the town for worship or offer puja in the Temple. Some of them come with a religious bent of mind, others come to witness the fair, to watch the crowd for and for fun.

Absence of priests and officials in the festivals and processions of the Deity has broken down the traditional structural interdependence among the priests. For instance : a food offering of the Deity. Prior to the food

offering, the Paliabadu cleaned the place of the offering after which the Pantibadu arranges the place and materials required for the purpose. The Greatcook, then brings in the food, after which the offerend, offered the food stuff to the Deity. At the time of the offering, the Garabadu sevaka supplied water to the offerend and the Patri supplies the flowers. But in the absence of certain sevaka, the ritual and the traditional structural set up is upset. This disorganisation is not only found in sacred aspects but also in secular spheres. Group feasts and merrymakings on festive days are no longer observed by the people. Increase in the cost of living and the constant rise in the value of the food stuff and the secular engagements are the main reasons for this. Certain sections of the priests do not perform their traditional duties allotted to their group or community. The Kshetrabasis, for example. Though, they enjoy rent free land from the Endowment to display fire works etc. during Deity's marriage etc. no longer do so in 1962. As the Kshetrabasis, have disregard their traditional contract with the Endowment, the latter has recently entered into an agreement with a local youth to display fire works during certain temple festivals. This happened as majority of the Kshetrabasis entered into secular occupations leaving aside their traditional caste occupation. Such, lapses are not only confined to the Kshetrabasis only, but also among the Suars and the Badus. This can best be illustrated from the chapter on the Nijogas.

The Endowment in 1962, do not send invitation to the artisans engaged in the construction of the Deity's car as was done in 1900. But formal information is sent to them either by post or by a special messenger to join the work. Due to loss of patrons like the rajas and other wealthy persons, the Endowment in 1962, spends more in the rituals. Because, the raja of Puri, who supplied coloured clothes to cover the Car and rope for pulling, has stopped so, since 1954 as a result of which the Endowment now purchase these from the market. Further, the ex-chiefs and the feudatory chiefs of the princely states who supplied rich textiles, valuables and cash gifts to the Deity have stopped this after the merger of their States. Also, the tenants of the Deity like the weavers and the florists do not supply the thread and flower garlands etc. respectively on festive days. The monasteries which were considered to be one of the patrons of the Deity and the Temple, have skimped the panti food as well as other ritual necessities of the Deity as the monastic heads are controlled by the Endowment Commissioner since 1955.

In the last decade only, such serious changes in the services, remunerations and decline in servants has occurred. By and large, these services in 1962 has not disappeared. The services of the Deity are still performed in the Temple despite the loss of patrons.

REFERENCES

1. There is a long hall of kitchen in the Temple precinct with six exits, which is used by the cooks to prepare food materials for public sale. Besides, there is another hall of kitchen, known as the "joint kitchen" (Kotha Rosa) which is used only by the Great cook on duty to prepare the Endowment menu for the day's ritual cycle.
2. The "Skytambourine" (Meghadambaru) is an umbrella like structure, covered from all sides by means of an additional cloth. Food materials etc. to be presented to the Deity are brought under it, in order to avoid the evil eyes. According to a local tradition, if some one outsider would see the food materials etc. before presentation to the Deity, the latter would suffer from stomach trouble.
3. The deity "Kapilanath", comes from the Kapileswar Temple located in a nearby village called, "Kapileswar". He is considered to be the symbolical minister of Lingaraj.
4. For supplying now clothes to the deputies, this monastery was endowed by the Rajas a land grant measuring 0.470 acres on which the present monastery stands along with the Papanasini tank. Therefore, the authorised agent of the math, collects a nominal fee from persons bathing in the tank to be blessed with children on festive days. Also, on the Prathamastami day, the monastery head supplied/supplies the following categories of new clothes to the deputies, such as :—3 Kasta (3 small coloured sarees), four Khadis (white coarse dhoti), 5 yards each. The Mahanta of this math belongs to a village named "Pani Dola" near Pipli, in the district of Puri.
5. Panti food consists of ripe fruits, such as mango, plantain, jack fruit, cocoanut etc. and "Muan" (raw sugar coated balls of puffed paddy).
6. The traditional hereditary officials of the Endowment were/are considered as the courtiers. At the time of the Festival worship the officials remain standing near the Ada Katha, as a symbol of submission holding their insignias. Such as :—Parichha holding a stick, Parakaran with a note book, Pancadi with stick, Samantara with a sword.
7 One family among the Suars (now 9 families) was authorised by the Raja, to act as Raja in this important Temple functions, for which he was given additional free land from the Temple estate on the Deity's marriage day, a member of this family sat/sit on

the wooden elephant as King, on the Janmastami day one of them acts as King Ugrasena, on the Netrauchhab day, one of the members ceremonially sweep the Car.

8. Parvati sevak breaks a small piece of wood from the Car as a token of anger (on behalf of Parvati) as she was not taken in the Car. As per tradition, this piece of wood was/is used in the construction of the barge, therefore, the barge is not ceremonially purified.
9. This platform (looking platform) situated on the Temple compound well (North-East corner) The deputy of Parvati was/is kept on this platform as Parvati watches the festival there.
10. According to the "Record of Rights" of the Lingaraj Temple a physician (Vaidya) family was entrusted with a land grant freely by the Temple to supply herbal peels (modaka) to the Deity during this period. In 1962, no such supply is being made by the Vaidya family.
11. Kamakshi, the presiding goddess of the Bharati monastery is the symbolical sister of Lingaraj. Therefore, Lingaraj visits her Temple on this day for a feast.
12. There are 2 swing altars near the Temple compound, one closed to the northern entrance of the Temple compound called as "Harihar Dola" and the other in front of Sivatirtha math. Deputies of Lingaraj and Parvati are seated on the "Harihar Dola" where as the deputy of Dolagobinda on the other.
13. The eight goddess or Astacandi are :—Kapāli, Mohini, Bindhyabāsini, Ramāyani, Āmāyani, Dwārabāsini, Chandrbāsini, Utareswari.

Chapter Six

TEMPLE SERVANTS, THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE AND CHANGES SINCE Ca. 1900

Traditionally there were and still are in 1962, 24 generally recognised caste groupings of Temple servants, which may be divided into two broad categories, the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans. It is said that at the time of the establishment of the Temple 360 households were required to perform, in turn, the daily rituals of the Deity, in the sacred complex of Lingaraj. These households are properly speaking the "Sevakas" (service renders or servants). Appendix 5 discusses the servants of the daily ritual round as well as their services and remunerations. The officers, their caste position, as well as nature of services are summarised in Table 7. This table mentions, 30 different officers which are aportioned among the 24 caste in the annual ritual cycle of the Deity.

In addition to the persons required for the traditional daily cycle of rituals in the Temple; there are other groups, usually of lower status, which are required to render services in the annual cycle of festivals. They are known as "Kalābethiās" (lit. Black free-labours) from the actual "sevakas" (servants). The persons rendering free-labour in the sacred context of the Temple must in turn be distinguished from the secular forced labour (Bethi). The "Kalābethiās" were paid in rent free house plots, as well as small sums of cash and/or small payments in kind. Therefore, the Kalābethiās of the Temple can not be equated with secular forced labour (Bethi).

The Temple town of Bhubaneswar has long been a multi-caste settlement which had a population in 1903 of about 3,000 consisting mainly of brahmans, priests[1] and Bengalis, who formed a major part of the total population in the town.

For purposes of analysis, five categories are suggested as representing more nearly all types of social groupings with either daily and/or annual obligations to the Temple. They are :

(i) *Brahmans*, consisting of three clearly ranked caste groupings namely, the "Kshetrabasi", the "Pujapanda" and "Mahasuar" or Suar.

(ii) *Assimilated Brahmans*, consisting of one group of Temple servant whose status in the traditional caste hierarchy is siill a matter of dispute, namely the Badu.

(iii) *The Non-Brahmans*, consisting of 17 categories whose rank is as traditionally as sharp as for the brahmans.

(iv) *Non-Oriyans*, which was represented by a single Telugu family.

(v) *Scheduled Castes*, consisting of two untouchable caste groupings, the Bauri and the Hadi.

The castes mentioned in Table 7 represent all the Temple servants who lived mainly in the Town. The castes and the sub-castes in Table 7, are not in rank order, since it is essentially a list of services rather than castes.

All the castes listed in Table 7, are "Sevakas" except the carpenters, blacksmiths, holders of trident torch, boat rowers, chariot attendant, palanquine and float carriers. These services are rendered by the Kalābethiās rather than the sevakas. For all these caste groups, inter-marriage and commensality (except for temple food and pucca food) with other castes were forbidden. Among the Badus and the Brahmans widow marriage was prohibited. Traditionally, the breach of any caste rule was severely dealt with by the caste-associations (Nijoga) or (Jātiāna Sabhā) headed by caste leaders. In the past, caste rules were strictly observed as the caste councils were most powerful.

All the hereditary Temple servants were and still are allotted with rent free (niskar) house plots. None of the non-hereditary officers have been given rent free house plots for their services. However, they were and are allowed the privileges of free peddling[2] in the town on Temple roads without any payment to the auction holder.

This chapter will discuss each of the 30 service holders in five categories mentioned earlier. As far as possible each group will be discussed in terms of origin, traditional and present size, traditional sacred duties and remunerations, changes in secular occupations and social positions of these groups.

BRAHMANS

1. Kshetrabasi (lit. Sacred city dweller)

They were traditionally reputed to have been brought from Kanauj in Uttar Pradesh by the Kesari rajas at the time the Temple was built, in the

mid-eleventh century, in order to perform the purificatory rites of the newly built Temple for which the local brahmans were unqualified.

Traditionally, there were six such families in the town bearing the surnames, Rath, Dash, Misra, Satapathy, Praharaj and Tripathy but in 1962, the number of families have increased to 36. Among them, there was/is only one family, bearing the surname Tripathi in the town serving the Deity. Though this family has grown in size, they still live jointly under one roof. The Kshetrabasis were and are the spiritual functionaries of the Deity and were/are entrusted with all the priestly services in the ritual cycle. They were remunerated both in cash and kind from the Endowment. The Tripathi family has had a special duty in the Temple complex which was, to read "Veda" daily in the Audience Hall of the Temple. They have been entrusted with this duty since they are considered descendants of Brahma, the author of the Veda. Also, they assisted the Rajguru[3] on the Śivaratri day and serve as priests with the others in the purificatory ceremony of the Car on the Netrauchhab day.

Table 8 summarises the services rendered by the Kshetrabasis and compares the remunerations for each services in 1900 and 1962.

In addition to Temple duties, the Kshetrabasis are privileged to use the Temple tank Bindusagar to perform the sacred rituals for and on behalf of the pilgrims and clients. These rituals include : libation of water (Tarpana), food offering to forebears (Pinda), Sankalpa etc. Also, they enjoy a free patch of land measuring 50 decimals for the construction of their Caste Pancayat (Nijoga) building. They enjoyed these privileges on condition that they would provide fire works in the marriage and honeymooning of the Deity Lingaraj and repair the banks of the Temple tank.

In addition to Temple services, they also served pilgrims and the Temple functionaries (with the exception of the scheduled castes) as family priests including the rituals accompanying marriage, re-marriage, sacred investiture, ear piercing, birth and death rituals. These services were/are remunerated both in cash and kind. Table 9 summarises the payments to these brahmans for such family services.

In 1962, about 90 p.c. of the Kshetrabasis do not pursue their traditional occupation but are employed as office assistants and businessmen. A Kshetrabasi serving in his sacred capacity cannot expect a fixed and regular income from his clients whereas his monthly emoluments in the government

office is stable. Another important reason for this shift of occupation is the lower prestige of the priests. This also means lower remuneration. To illustrate : A clerk in an office may earn 6 to 7 rupees a day but a brahman performing priestly duties cannot expect more than a rupee in a day. Finally, availability of secular occupations after the construction of the new capital has provided alternatives not present in 1900.

Traditionally, the Kshetrabasis were undisputedly the highest ranking groups. They neither interdined nor intermarried with any other castes. A breach of such restriction resulted in severe punishments like out casting and cash fines. By 1962, these restrictions have been gradually relaxed and the caste solidarity has been weakened. For example : B.D., kept a concubine of lower caste and drank alcohol from 1953 to 1961 without any complaint either by fellow caste men or by the Nijoga. Similarly, commensality with lower ranking temple priests is now tolerated. Kshetrabasis are even known to have taken meals in the houses of sudra sevakas. For example : many of them attended the marriage feast of M.B. and L.Ms daughters, although both the families are Sudras. Widow remarriage, which was forbidden in 1900, occurs in 1962. The widowed daughter of T.D., a Kshetrabasi, was remarried in 1957 and another K.R., a widower, remarried to a widow (caste unknown). Their Caste brothers joined the marriage and the feasts.

2. **Pujapanda** (Offerend)

In one account, the Pujapandas are another group of Temple priests reputedly brought from Kanauj at the same time as the Kshetrabasis. Another account states that they were originally the offerends of Lord Krishna[4] at the village of Sakhigopal in the district of Puri. It is said that one of them walked daily to Bhubaneswar to offer bhog to the Deity. Because the Kamas[5], who were the original worshippers of the Deity died, away after which the rajas brought the offerends from Sakhigopal (?). It is said that when they were coming to Bhubaneswar to worship the Deity, they changed their sacred thread and the sacred bead, near the steemlet Gangua, a mile South-West of the town. Because the Vaisnavites wear a necklace of sacred beads in addition to the sacred thread, the offerends of Sakhigopal temple were/are called, "Mahapatra", but when they assumed the services in Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar, they were known as "Pujapanda Mahapatra".

Even today, the pujapandas of Bhubaneswar undergo ritual pollution when any death or birth occurs in the pujapanda families at Sakhigopal.

According to tradition, there were five offerend families in the town. In 1962, there are 17 such families in the town bearing the surname "Pujapanda". In 1960, they have cut short their traditional official surname "Pujapanda Mahapatra" to "Pujapanda" only.

The traditional sacred duties allotted to this group were (i) to worship and present the food to the Deity, (ii) to sprinkle water and flowers on the Car during the "Chherapanhara" ritual on the day prior to the Car festival, (iii) to act as the supervisor (Caracaita) of the Temple. The Śivatirtha, Gopaltirth monasteries, as per tradition offered daily cooked food in the Temple, and on festive days Panti foods etc. to Lingaraj. The offerends presented/presents these foods to the Deity and therefore were compensated by the monasteries concerned with a pot of rice and dal daily, on their service days. For offering the Panti foods to the Deity they were/are given a cash remuneration amounting 5 rupees per annum for presenting the pantis. Also, they receive a saree from the Endowment for their services in the Chherapanhara ritual. In 1900, they also performed five days Greatcook (Mahasuar Pali) services in the Temple which they acquired through marriages with Suar girls. Like the Suars and the Badus, the pujapandas served 10 days of Caracaita pali (supervisor service) and received the customary remuneration.

In addition to the above duties, the pujapandas, like the Badus and the Suars earned their living primarily by serving pilgrims.

In 1962, the emoluments for the Temple services have increased somewhat but not in proportion to the cost of living, while the payments in kind have decreased in quantity and quality. A Pujapanda resigned from his Temple services in 1962 because of the inadequate remuneration. Therefore, the Temple authorities filed a case against him in the Court of Law. Ultimately the Court gave the decree in favour of the Endowment, as a result of which the concerned persons again resumed his services. He only resumed his services under the threat of losing his Temple land. Since 1949, the Pujapandas have given up their Mahasuar services because of the bitter feelings that arose between the Suars and the Pujapanda. In this quarell, the Pujapandas claimed superiority in the social hierarchy over the Suars. Since 1949, the five days of the cooking services (Mahasuar Pali)

abandoned by the Pujapandas have been taken over by the Suar Nijoga. Similarly, in 1962, due to the untimely death in the Pujapanda family serving as the Temple supervisor, this service has been abandoned by the Pujapandas. These 10 days were then equally divided by the Badu and the Suars who still perform this service in 1962. Income from pilgrims has also decreased considerably. In 1962, facilities of the State Government for the tourist traffic in the town have hampered the traditional occupation. In 1900, when the town lacked such facilities, the pilgrims were forced to depend on a priest for their food, shelter and ritual performances.

Traditionally, the pujapanda girls were not permitted to marry into the lower ranking suar families. However, the pujapanda men were permitted to marry suar girls. In other words, suar women married hypergamously, whereas pujapandas married hypogamously.

3. **Mahasuar or Suar** (Greatcook)

The Mahasuars or the suars, are a category of brahmans who are reputed to have come from Kanauj to this place, at the same time as the Kshetrabasis and the Pujapandas.

Traditionally, there were 130 families, whereas in 1962, 200 such families served the Deity in the Temple. Characteristic surnames of this category are Mahapatra, Naik Mahasuar, Panda, Pati, Sangitra, Mekap, Garabadu and Khuntia. All the suars considered themselves related through either consanguinal or affinal ties. As all the Suars were polluted by any death or birth in the group, moieties called "Uttar bada" (Northern section) and Dakshina bada (Southern section) came up. These were created only to perform the Temple rituals when one section suffered from ritual impurities. In this connection Bose etal (1958) writes :

> ......Therefore, an artificial arrangement was resorted to. This consisted of dividing the lineage into two groups, each of which is known as bara. The term literally means wall, hence section. The two baras, as were named Uttara bara and Dakshina bara. There are eight lineages in the former and seven in the latter. These lineages have, by now grown into larger size and it has also become the present custom to limit ceremonial defilement to ones close agnates and cognates, so that the entire bara does not become involved". (Bose et al 1958 : 17)

Seventeen different services in the daily ritual round of the Deity were/are allotted to the suars. There services were/are divided among people bearing different surnames which are enumerated in detail in Appendix 5. All the families in turn did/do their cooking for which the Temple authorities supplied the required materials. They were also privileged to sell the food of grace (Prasad) to the public both in the Lingaraj and the Anantavasudev temples. In addition, about 50 p.c. of the members act as pilgrim guides or pandas in the sacred complex. By 1962, two forces tending in opposite directions have altered the economy of the suar community. On the one hand, they suffered the same dimunition in livelihood received from Temple services and pilgrims that the other brahman groups have undergone. Like other communities, the educated youths feel the greater prestige is to be found in the new occupations provided by the growth of the new capital. On the other hand, the very growth of the new capital has provided a larger and more remunerative clientel for Temple food which is cooked by the suars who have retained their traditional occupation.

In social spheres too, changes are noteworthy. Inter-caste marriage widow marriage and inter-caste commensality are now tolerated. One G. G. married in the house of a Halua brahman (lower ranking brahman) and all his caste brethrens attended to the marriage. Such marriages may arise because of either educated bridegrooms or brides in the community. Finally, the suars with the surname "Naik Mahasuar" have shortened their traditional official surname to "Mahasuar" only.

ASSIMILATED BRAHMANS

4. Badu

The origin of this group cannot be authenticated. Banerjee, calls them as, "reconverted Buddhists whereas O'Malley, mentions them as "son of the sage" (Rishiputra) (Banerjee 1931 : 36 and O'Malley 1929 : 272). Panigrahi equates them with a category of non-brahman priest called "Daitapati" in the Jagannath Temple at Puri. Elwin (1959) considers them to be the cooks (suars) of Lingaraj Temple. Clearly, the origin of this category of priests is still a matter of debate[6]. They bear caste surnames like Badu, Mahapatra, Samantara, Makadam and Singhari. Traditionally, there were 30 families which had increased to 39 in 1962.

Five different services of the Deity in the daily ritual cycle were/are allotted to them, e.g. Paliabadu, Pochha, Pahada, Faraka and Khataseja. According to the nature of duties the services of Faraka and Paliabadu are considered important whereas the others are minor ones. The remunerations paid to the Badus are detailed in Appendix 5. In addition to the Temple services, the Badus served/serve pilgrims visiting the Temple and mostly lived on this. After the establishment of the new capital, the young Badus are employed in the new town for their livelihood. Gradually loss of remuneration in the traditional sacred service has made them unwilling to serve the Deity. Further, the loss of faith in them Temple priests has also reduced income from that source. To quote :

> "The most dramatic change has been in the occupational field. Whereas traditionally Badus were exclusively dependant on the Temple for their livelihood, today the younger 50 p.c. of the adult males have turned to other secular occupations. The availability of choice in the pursuit of occupation is recent and results in large part from the establishment of the new state capital in 1948" (Mahapatra : The Badu—a caste serving Lingaraj Temple to be published in the J.A.A.S.—in the press).

A survey undertaken by this author shows that 8 male Badu have taken to tailoring, 2 shop-keeping, 5 employed in the local movie house, 4 in the government, 2 professional painters, 2 render domestic services, and 2 are automobile mechanics. This represents 43 p.c. of the total adult male Badus.

NON-BRAHMANS

Although, different castes of non-brahman sevakas render services to the Deity, they are discussed here under the heading as "Non-Brahmans" because, this is a common usage in the Temple town, Bhubaneswar. However, the terms "Non-Brahman", do not necessarily mean sudra alone. It includes, all clean castes below the brahman caste that are arranged in the services of the Deity.

5. **Abadhan** (Astrologer)

The Astrologer of the Deity is variously called, "Abadhan", "Jautisha" or "Jyotisha" and "Graha Bipra". The origin of this group is obscure. Their traditional caste surname was/is "Naik". In 1900, one family of astrologer

served the Deity whereas in 1962, 2 such families serve the Deity resulting from the original family.

The traditional sacred duties assigned to this group of Temple servants were (i) to inform daily the Temple supervisor (Caracaita) of the phases of the moon, (ii) read the new almanac on the swing altar on the Dola Purnami day, (iii) beat the ghanta (bell) on the Deity's car on the Asokastami and the Bahuda festivals. For all these services, he received 29 sweets (sodhua) every month, from the daily food offering of the Deity. Besides, on the Dola Purnami day, he received a new cloth and a cash remuneration of 4 annas. In addition to the Temple services, he served the local residents as astrologer (abadhan) and supplied horoscopes for the new born on request. He also tallied the horoscopes of the bride and grooms before the marriage and determined the auspicious days for marriage, sacred thread and ear piercing ceremonies.. Also, he attended these ceremonies in person for which he received a payment both in cash and kind as follows : (1) for new horoscopes, he received 4 annas for males and 2 annas for females and a sidha, (ii) for casting horoscopes, he received 8 annas plus a new dhoti, (iii) for attending marriages etc. he was paid 2 rupees, a new dhoti and a sidha. In addition to these, this astrologer, served the Suar Nijoga as astrologer, i.e. on the Dola Purnami day, he read the new almanac on the swing altar of the said Nijoga. For this service, he received 4 annas in cash, a meal on the community feast day and a cart load of straw, to thatch his own residence.

In 1962, he no longer attends regularly to his Temple duties. The daily service register of the Temple indicates that the present astrologer has not performed his traditional duties since 1952. He himself reports that he has not come to the Temple since 1955. For serving his clients as astrologer, he receives in 1962, double the amount for his different services. After the establishment of the capital, he has many requests from the residents of the new town and his income from private consultation has been increased. He say that, "for tallying horoscopes for marriages, he gets 5 rupees in the new capital. He has also started a cahali (school) at his residence and teaches the local children. His brother is now working in the civil aerodrome as a choukidar".

6. **Parakarana** (Scribe)

The origin of this family is unknown. He claims to be of Karana caste

and his official title has remained as "Naik Parakaran". From 1900 to 1962 he was a regular employee of the Temple and his name does not appear in the Endowment register after 1962. His traditional duties in the sacred complex were : (i) to record the daily accounts of the Temple, (ii) to maintain a daily attendance register of the sevakas, (iii) to report to the authorities, the mismanagement and the irregularity in the Temple services, (iv) to appear in person daily, early in the morning, at the time of the opening of the Temple. For these services, he received 10 acres of paddy land free of tax (Niskar) by the Endowment. On the Satapuri amabasya day, he received from the Endowment a share in the satapuri cakes offered to the Deity. The detailed remunerations of this person are noted in Appendix 5. He also received one of the wheels of the Deity's car after the Car festival. For doing little clerical work in the Temple office, he received Rs. 5/- per month. This cash remuneration per mensem has been stopped, since he left the job.

Since 1950, the present incumbent who is 80 years old, has not performed his duties or deputed anybody to proxy for him. His only son, who now works in the State Government in the new town, is not interested in assuming his father's position because of the lower remuneration.

The social position of this group is rising and inter-dinning with high caste priests is not frowned upon.

7. **Gauda** (Milkman)

According to a legend, the Gaudas are the descendants of the Gopi friends of Lord Krishna. The traditional number of families serving the Deity is unknown but in 1962, 12 such families perform the Temple services. The typical caste surname of this category are : Behera and Mandei.

The traditional sacred duties allotted to this group were/are to carry the palanquin of the Deity on festive days when the deputies go out to supply milk and curd for the services of the Deity. In addition to the sacred duties, they also carried brides and grooms on palanquins for which they were paid about 2 rupees in cash and a new cloth. They also tend the cattle of the local residents, thereby earning 4 annas per cow, every month. In addition, they supplied milk to the local residents on demand. In 1962, they still perform their services to the Deity.

In addition to the usual remunerations of the Temple, families supplying milk and curd to the Deity have got a tax free temple land whereas the

palanquin carriers received 50 measures (one measure contains about 5 kilogram) of paddy every year. In 1900, the Gaudas supplying milk and other milk products to the local residents were paid mostly in kind, whereas in 1962 they are paid by cash. In addition, 6 such families have opened sweetmeat stalls in the town and 2 of them serve the state government in different capacities.

In 1962, with the opening of new opportunities for secular occupations, the Gaudas no longer find time to attend the Temple services. As a result the deputies are now carried by the priests on the Somabar and the Catur-dashi festivals. With the establishment of a new caste association of the Gaudas (Jadaba Parishada), the local Gaudas serving the Deity claim a higher status. For example, they now disdain to carry brides and grooms etc. on the palanquin. However, the upper castes now tend to use motor cars or other forms of transportation in marriage processions and therefore do not require the services of the Gaudas, who now are reluctant in their claim to higher status than many other groups and in their pose as rich people. In 1962, some of them claim that delivering milk at the door of the consumers is degrading.

8. **Gudia** (Confectioner)

The origin of this category of sevakas is unknown. Traditionally, there was one such family serving the Deity whereas in 1962, there are four Gudia families in the town serving the Deity, and bearing surname Bisoyi.

The traditional duties of the members were to supply the daily morning breakfast of the Deity which consisted of puffed paddy coated with raw sugar (Ukhuda) and raw sugar candy (Kora). For this service, the confectioner received an annual payment called "Bhaga" amounting to Rs. 80/- in 1900. In addition, they were also privileged to sell their products in the Temple premises during festive days without any payment to the Endowment.

In 1962, the amount of food supplied by the Gudias for the Deity's breakfast is less than that supplied in 1900. They supplied fresh preparations to the Deity for the daily services in 1900 but in 1962, they supply from their stock prepared for the general public. Also, they sent the breakfast on new earthen pots daily but in 1962, leaf cups are used instead for sending the bhog to the Temple. The daily diary of the Temple, maintained by the Parakaran, shows that the Gudias were punished by the management in 1900

both in cash and corporal punishments for supplying bad preparations or for late supply. The physical punishments were incorporated in shape of pulling of the Cars, being required to stand on one leg, etc. The cash fines were deducted from their annual payment (Bhaga). In 1962, they are no longer punished even for bad supply, late supply or for refusing to stop supply. The Temple authorities no longer punish them either in cash or in corporal punishments. The Executive Officer never even reprimands them for absence or tardiness.

In 1962, all four families serving the Deity own sweetmeat stalls, in the town which constitute the chief means of their livelihood. After the construction of the new capital, their earnings from secular sources have increased greatly and as a result they pay less attention to their Temple services.

The social position of this group has risen along with their income. They now dine with higher castes at feasts.

9. Putuli Bania (Itinerant spice seller)

Origin of this family is unknown. There was/is one such family in the town bearing the surname "Sahu" serving the Deity in the following capacity. They supply betel and spices for the prepared betel of the Deity. In 1900, he received Rs. 15.4 annas per annum in cash and a new saree on the Kanya Sankranti day.

This incumbent, in addition to his Temple services, visited the nearby markets as an itinerant spice seller. He also had a small grocery shop at his residence to meet the local demands.

In 1962, his annual dues from the Temple has increased to Rs. 54 for supplying the same kind of goods. He no longer visits markets to peddle spices, since several shops have opened in the town after the establishment to the new capital. His own grocery shop in the old town has also prospered. On the death of the spice supplier, his 80 year old widow continued supplying the Temple and her name was entered on the register. The Endowment authorities enlisted her services because there was no male issue in her family. However, in 1963 her resident son-in-law (Ghar jwain) replaced her. In an interview with the old woman shy said to me, how the Endowment authorities have stopped her annual remuneration (a new cloth) on the Kanya Sankranti day and how they have not yet granted her an extra plot of land even on

cash payment. She complained to me that even her own residence is not tax free.

The social position of this group has improved a great deal by 1962. Being a middle level caste, the brahmin residents of the town did not accept water from this family. Today they do so, without hesitation.

10. **Badhei** (Carpenter)

The Badheis are said to have been descended from Biswakarma the Creator of the Universe in the Hindu mythology. Traditional number of families serving the Deity was 4 but in 1962, there are 12 such families in the town. The typical surname of these families is "Maharana". The traditional sacred duties allotted to this group were the construction of the Deity's car (Ratha) and barge (Cāpa). In addition, to the traditional services they attended to all the major and minor repairs of the Temple and built the wooden frames etc. of the Chhata (Umbrella) and the Trāsa of the Deity.

For these services, in addition to their tax free houseplots, they were given extra plots of land by the Endowment in the town. During the car festival, the Endowment also gave them the rations to make a feast in the Rameswar Temple. During the construction of the car and the barge, they were paid in kind (in the shape of paddy) and a little cash remuneration (2 annas per day) whereas the guest carpenters were paid daily wages but nothing in kind.

In addition to the Temple duties, the carpenters, in 1900, assisted the local residents in the new constructions and were paid daily wages varying from 4 annas to 6 annas. A patron-client relationship also existed between the carpenters and the local residents. The former supplied their clients (Jajmans) wooden ladles etc. for domestic as well as for ritual cooking. During the sacred-thread and marriage ceremonies they supplied wooden seats and other wooden constructions for which they received payment both in cash and kind.

In 1962, the task of building the car has been reduced as most parts of the car are reused. The daily wages of the carpenters have been doubled in 1962 as the Temple authorities have increased it along with the others. The traditional patron-client relationship has been collapsed due to heavy demand of carpenters in the new town. Therefore, they serve only a few rich and influential clients as their payment in the system is much less

compared to the wages in the new capital. The opportunities in the new town have induced the carpenters to avoid the old wages of the local people. Because, in 1962 they are paid double the amount in the new town what they receive in the old town. Therefore, good carpenters arrange proxy on their Temple service days.

In 1962, the social position of this group has increased. Brahmans even attend the marriage feast of LMs daughter without any hesitation or opposition. On enquiries in this regard, this author was told that brahmans cooks were engaged by LM to cook for the brahman invitees.

11. Kamar (Blacksmith)

The Kamaras are sudra and occupied a lower position than the carpenters in the traditional caste hierarchy. They however, considered themselves to be a sub-caste of the carpenter caste and bear caste surname Maharana. There was one such family traditionally whereas in 1962, there are 5 such families in the town.

Traditional sacred duty allotted to this category of sevakas was to help the carpenters in the construction of the car. They prepared the iron nails nuts, bolts etc. required for the construction of the Car and sharpened the instruments of the carpenters at the time of the construction of the Car. For these services, they receive the same remuneration as the local carpenters.

In addition to the sacred services, they made plough shares, scythes, axes, sickles etc. for the local cultivators for which they were reimbursed in kind, generally after the harvest. In 1962 all the blacksmith families have discontinued supplying the agricultural implements to the local residents and therefore, people buy their requirements from the local shop keepers. Of the 5 families in 1962, 2 families have become government contractors and 2 others have taken to civil service. However, they still perform their sacred services by arranging proxies. As none of them supply iron implements to the residents, the later go to the iron mongers for their requirements. As a result the transactions with blacksmiths today are exclusively in cash.

Like, many other artisan castes, the Kamaras have gone up socially. Traditionally, marriage and inter-dining of this caste group with the carpenters was not permitted because of their lower status. But such restrictions do not hold good in 1962.

12. **Teli** (Oil seller)

According to tradition, there were 3 families of oil sellers in the town serving the Deity but in 1962, they have increased to 8 families, all bearing the caste surname "Sahu". Traditional sacred duties allotted to this group were : (i) to supply polanga oil (calophyllum inophyloum) for lighting the Temple, (ii) to carry the special torch (Trisakha) at night in the audience hall of the Temple and also in the processions of the Deity. For these sacred services in 1900, this category of sevakas received (i) a cash remuneration for the oil supplied, (ii) and on the Kanya Sankranti day, a new dhoti and a cash remuneration of Rs. 5/- to be distributed equally among all the families serving the Deity. All the families, in addition to the above remunerations, were granted extra tax free lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple to open their shops.

Since the Temple was electrified in 1957, their services have been abandoned except carrying the torch in the processions. Further, they have been deprived of supplying the polanga oil required in the Temple for burning lamps, as this has been taken over by the ration supplier. Attendance at processions with the special torches have been decreased in 1962 because of competing secular engagements. But they still attend the processions during the sandal festival, and the marriage processions of the Deity. In 1962, 6 of them serve as civil servant and the others still pursue their former occupation. As the other groups, their economic position has improved with the growth of business opportunities provided by the new city.

Change in the social status of this group is noteworthy. Traditionally because of their lower position in the caste hierarchy, they were not even touched by the strict Hindus. In 1962, even brahmans accept water from these people. They believe, their caste name to be humiliating. Therefore in a recent meeting of the caste members they have changed their caste name. To illustrate :

> "In recent times, they have occasionally adopted such descriptive appelations as Tailika Vasya or Sadhab Teli, Kuvera putra etc. But none of these innovations seem to have gained general acceptance" (Bose ed. 1960-1)".

13. **Bhandari** (Barber)

The traditional number of families serving the Deity in 1900 were 4,

but in 1962 they have increased to 9. All bear the surname "Barika". The traditional duties allotted to this group were : (i) to carry the torch (masāla) on festive days in the Deity's processions, (ii) and in the audience hall of the Temple at night. The latter duty was a remunerative one and persons acting as such received a salary of 2 annas 9 pice per month from the Endowment, but it has been stopped since the electrification of the Temple in 1957. The first duty yielded nothing except the rent-free house plot.

In addition to the Temple services, they served the clean caste residents of the town serving the Deity on a jajmani basis, in their marriage, sacred thread, ear piercing and funeral ceremonies. For these secular services, they were paid both in cash and kind as noted in Table 10. The notable secular functions of this group were to serve their clients on ordinary days, funeral, sacred thread ceremonies. The barber's wife also cut the finger nails of the patron kinsmen and applied the red stain (alatā) to the edge of their feet. On the 10th and 11th days of the funeral, the barber carried the cocoanut and the mustard oil to the bereaved kinsman, on the bank of the Temple tank Bindusagar, where the ritual baths are taken. Further, he also carried the new clothes by the deceased family to the kinfolk. They attended the marriage ceremonies of their clients and helped the family priest in arranging the marriage altar, carried the gifts for the bride and other necessities of the marriage. In the sacred investitures too, the barber helps the priest, shaves the initiate and does the other menial duties connected with the investiture. He cleaned away the leaves used as plates in the marriage and sacred investiture feasts. In the ear piercing ceremonies, it is he who pierces the ear lobes of the initiate. The barber who held the torch (masāla) at night in the hall of audience of the Temple, has also lost his job after the electrification of the Temple. With the lapse of this occupation, the barber, is no longer paid in cash by the Endowments. However, they still carry the torch in the processions of the Deity. As mentioned earlier, they were traditionally paid nothing either in cash or kind for their services but since 1962, they receive 2 mandua cakes every day throughout the 21 days of the sandal festival. This was possible, only through the effort of the members of the Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti.

In 1962, three barbers work in the new town as civil servants, and 5 of them have opened barber saloons, and one a tea stall in the town. Following changes indicate, that their position in the society has improved (i) after a

decision in their caste association, they rarely wash the feet of the guests in their clients houses during marriage, sacred investiture feasts, as it is considered a demeaning task. In any case, when they are forced to do so by the concerned client, they (barbers) do so with their left hand, which is generally considered unclean. They have stopped collecting festive gratuities from their clients and no longer carry gifts in the marriage processions. Thus, after the establishment of the new township and with the growing economic inter-dependence, they have improved their social position but at the expense of the ritual duties. A young barber, in 1962, has changed his caste surname (from Barik to Samantara) by an affidavit in the local magistrates court. Samantara being the surname of warrior caste, he feels superior in the traditional caste hierarchy. He however serves his clients in his capacity as a barber.

14. Keuta (Fisherman)

Traditionally, there were 4 such families in the town serving the Deity which have increased to 8 in 1962. All the Keutas serving the Deity in the sacred complex bear the caste surname of "Behera". The only sacred duty performed by this caste members was to row the barge of the Deity during the sandal festival, for which they received nothing from the Endowment except certain facilities and their own free homestead land (Tax free). On the Dola Purnami day, they were invited by the Mahanta of the Śivatirtha math to a feast. The Endowment also permitted them to fish freely in the Temple tank as well as in streamlet Gangua near the Temple.

In 1962, they have been deprived off all the above mentioned facilities as well as of the feast given by the Śivatirtha math. 3 of them serve in the Postal Department as mail runners, 2 drive government jeeps, and the others trade fish and parched rice in the town.

15. Ratha Paika (Chariot attendant)

The office of the Ratha Paika, belongs to the villagers of Nayapali located at the outskirt of the Temple town about 5 miles north of the Temple. The office-bearers claim to be Khandayat by caste and bear surnames such as Santara, Paika, Jena, Rautara etc. The traditional number of families serving the Deity is unknown but in 1962, 12 families perform this service in turn every year.

The only sacred duty allotted to this group was/is to guard the Car (Ratha) of the Deity during the Car festival at the Rameswar Temple for which they were given free meals for 5 days engaged and a new dhoti. They mainly live on cultivation. They still serve the Deity in their capacity and receive their traditional remuneration.

16. Kumbhar (Potter)

The potters bear the caste surname "Muduli" and serve the Deity by supplying new earthen pots daily. There were 30 families of potters serving the Deity which has increased to 36 in 1962. The only sacred duty of this group was to supply new earthen pots for the daily requirements of the Deity, as well as extra pots on festival days.

They provided the Temple servants except the scheduled castes, earthen pots for their ordinary (daily) cookings as well as during marriage, sacred thread and funeral ceremonies on a jajmani basis. For these, they were paid both in cash and kind by their clients. Also, they supplied the Greatcooks, the new earthen pots for cooking in the Temple.

In 1962, the number of earthen pots required for the daily services as well as remunerations from the Temple has remain unaltered. But due to the rise in populations and fragmentations of properties due to family separations, endowed paddy lands have been divided among the families. With the establishment of the new town and the immediate expansion of the city they have been deprived of fuel collection from the nearby forests, as the forest has been cleared for the new constructions. Therefore, they now buy fuel for their kilns. As a result, they fail to supply earthen pots to their clients as well as to the Greatcooks. Therefore, the potters of Puri have started supplying pots to the Temple cooks. Six of the potters have now sold away their endowed property and do not supply the required pots on their service days. As a result the Temple authorities now buy the pots from the market.

Their social status in 1962 has now gone little upward, compared to 1900. For example: 2 karana youths have married 2 potter girls. Inter-caste dining is not frowned upon.

17. Samartha

The characteristic surname of this sevaka group is Samartha. Here,

in this case the caste and the caste surname are the same. 22 such families served the Deity in turn daily in the ritual cycle but in 1962, they have increased to 30.

The traditional sacred duties allotted to this group were : (i) to grind the pulses, rice etc. for the preparation of the daily bhog of the Deity. (ii) beat the drum (madala) and the gong during the food offering, (iii) supply water to the Greatcook servant to cook for the Deity, (iv) carry the Greatlamp (Mahadipa) to the top of the Temple on every 14th day of each fortnight, (v) tie the flag at the Temple spire whenever required. For these services, the Samarthas received daily a part of the food offering whereas for carrying the lamp and tying the flag etc. they were paid 2 annas 9 pies per month from the Temple. In addition to the Temple services, they also assisted the Greatcooks in providing water and cutting vegetables for the cooking. For this private service, they were/are paid by the concerned cooks under whom they work.

In 1962, the duties and the remuneration of this group has remained unaltered. But the remuneration in kind from the Temple for the daily services has been reduced in size as the other priests. 2 cooks still serve under cooks in the capacity mentioned above. They also sell flowers and ghee lamps to the visitors to the Temple, 3 of them have become mason and expressed their loss of interest in the parental occupation. 1 has opened a tailoring shop and 2 work as apprentices in a garage. 3 of them have also taken up civil service in the new town.

18. Daraji (Tailor)

Traditionally, one tailor family was entrusted with the Temple services but in 1962 four such families perform the Temple duties, in turn every year. The caste surname of this category of priests is "Maharana".

The traditional sacred duty of this group was to do all sewing for the Deity. For example the royal insignias such as the Umbrella, Trasa, Meghadambaru etc. are made by the tailors. They also stitched the garments of the Deity as well as the flags, the sun screen (Candua) also fixed the coloured clothes round the Car. For these services they received a monthly cash remuneration and a new dhoti after the end of the Car festival every year. In addition to the sacred services, they also supplied stitched garments to the local residents.

In 1962, only 1 family, perform the Temple services, as the other do not know the making of these royal insignias etc. Instead of a monthly salary, they are now given wages for the works done. This author was told, that the other tailors do not like the Temple duties, as they lack in the special skill required and feel that the work is underpaid. After the establishment of the new town, they have prospered mainly due to increase in their business transaction.

19. Kahalia (Trumpeteer)

O'Malley, describes the origin of this group as follows :

> "......They are believed to be descended from the illegitimate children of the dancing girls attached to the great Temples, but they themselves not unnaturally deny this and profess to have come from the banks of the Ganges. They play in the temples on a wind instruments, called Kahali, from which their name is derived and sometimes describe their caste as Teli sevaka i.e. inferior temple servants" (O'Malley 1929 : 921).

Traditionally and in 1962, this service was/is done by one family bearing the surname (Mahapatra) but they are popularly called as "Kahalia Mahapatra".

The principal service, this family performed in the Temple was to blow the trumpet during the presentation of the food to the Deity. They also joined in all the processions of the Deity on festive days when the deputies go out of the Temple for which they were paid a monthly salary by the Endowment and a new dhoti on the Car festival day. Besides, this family head served the Endowment in two different capacities, one as the Temple door-keeper and the Temple sweeper (Suansiya). For these services, he received an additional salary of Rs. 7/- per month and a new dhoti after the Car festival.

The old trumpeteer of the Deity even in 1962, serves the Endowment in his former secular capacities (Dwari and Suansiya) and receives Rs. 21/- per month. His second son blows the trumpet in the Temple. He also sells the Endowment food offering to the public and gets a commission of 25 p.c. from the Endowment. An interview with the old trumpeteer revealed that this incumbent enjoyed no free homestead land, which suggests that either this service was introduced at a later state or that as the person concerned

was paid a cash stipend every month by the Endowment, no free land was granted to him.

20. **Viman Apata** (Float bearer)

The traditional number of families allotted with this service was 12 but in 1962 they have increased to 30. The characteristic surname of this group are Das, Majhi, Swain and Jena and all of them belong to the cultivating caste (Case).

Carrying the float of the Deity was the main duty of this group, which they performed until 1962. For this they received 20 measures of paddy per head, per annum, and a tax free house plot. In addition to the Temple services, they mostly live on cultivation and allied services. In 1962, although they received the same remuneration from the Endowment they have become slack in their duties. For example : late attendance and absence in the Temple duties in a regular feature with this caste group. In 1963, they went on a strike, demanding an extra plot of Temple land to accommodate their increased families. But their demand was not granted by the Endowment. In 1962, they work as mason and work in the new town in construction sites.

21. **Palinki Apata** (Palanquin bearer)

The service of palanquin carrying was allotted to the Gauda sevakas (7) of the Deity.

22. **Dhoba** (Washerman)

The only dhoba family serving the Deity in 1900 has increased to 4 families in 1962, bearing the surname "Sethi".

The following categories of sacred services were allotted to this group, such as : (i) to wash the used clothes of the Deity, every day ; (ii) to shape the weels of the Deity's Car during the construction of the Chariot. For the former services, they received a monthly salary and for the latter a new dhoti, after the Car festival. In addition to these they also received the wood cut from the shaping and a cake in the Dhanu mas (Sagittarious) and in the Baula Amabasya day. On the Satapuri Amabasya day, they received a Satapuri cake and a new cloth on the Kanya Sankranti day.

Besides, the sacred duties, they also served the Temple priests, excepting the other scheduled castes, on a jajman basis. They cleaned the ordinary clothes, menstrual clothes and dirty clothes from a child birth of their clients.

They laid out all the corpses of their clients in the cremation ground and cut the logs for the pyre. In return, they received the used pillows and bed etc. of the deceased. According to a local custom, if an expectant mother expires, they cut the uterus of the deceased to get out the baby, because, babies are not allowed to be cremated, but are buried instead.

The remunerations of the dhobas for the ritual and secular services to their clients for the years 1900 and 1962, are listed in Table 11.

In 1962, the dhobas have stopped cleaning the clothes of the deities daily but perform their duties during the construction of the Car. As a result the brahman servant titled, "Cangada", cleans the clothes daily in the Temple premises. But the dhobis still receive their remuneration from the Endowment.

For secular services, the dhobis income have increased markedly. 3 of them have opened laundries in the town, 2 work as porters in the railway and 2 work in the new capital as civil servants.

The caste members feel themselves higher as the other low ranking castes. For example: they no longer collect festive gratuitics during the festivals from their clients houses.

23. **Telenga** (Musician)

The only family of Telenga musician, with the surname "Patra" was brought by the early rajas from the present state of Andhra Pradesh to play on the South Indian orchestra in the Temple during the food offerings. Another rumour goes that the king introduced this service in the Temple to increase the love for music among His people. In many Śiva Temples such services are still practised, for instance the Sucindram Temple in South India (Pillay 1953).

The Telenga family serving the Deity died in 1942-43 and with his death the service has been discontinued. According to the service register of the Temple, the Telenga musician met an untimely death, which is one reason for the suspension of this ritual. In 1952, the Temple E.O., tried to revive this service and requested a Telegu musician in the new town to take up the Temple job. But the latter refused the request when he heard about the untimely death of the previous incumbent. According to tradition, as this service was introduced in the Temple at a latter stage, the employee engaged in this, met an untimely death. This sevaka received a monthly remuneration and a tax free house plot.

SCHEDULE CASTES

24. Bauri

Several stories and myths exist on the origin of this caste group. They have been identified as the slayers of the demon Sankha (Sankhasura). They have also been described as the descendants of Biswamitra. The typical caste surnames of this group are Bhoi, Behera, Das, Kandi, Hati, Raut etc. In 1900, 20 such families served the Deity whereas in 1962, they have increased to 35. They served in the following capacities, cutting the first log for the Deity's car, repairing of the road for the Car, acting as brakesman (kharadawala), and cleaning the Temple compound. The traditional remunerations and the present (1962) remunerations are tabulated in Table 12. The secular occupations and wages of this caste group are cited in Table 13.

The Bauris seem to have risen in status due to varied economic developments in 1962, compared to 1900. They are no longer hated by the clean caste residents. Their wards are now surrounded by clean caste residences. Therefore, in 1962, they are no longer either physically or socially isolated from the clean caste society. The encouragement of the government for the development of these scheduled castes is another reason for the upliftment of these castes. Reservation of seats in the educational institutions, government civil services etc. have been possible only due to the strong constitutional decision. In 1962, they have taken to a new role and have organised a band party (Orchestral music group) and are hired for festive occasions and social gatherings. In doing so, they have moved to a sphere formerly occupied by the Hadi sweeper. This is an interesting and rare occupational shift, down rather than up, in the traditional caste hierarchy. It has been motivated by economic considerations rather than those of prestige.

25. Hadi (Sweeper)

As reveals from the record of rights (Khanjakata) of the Temple, 2 Hadi families served the Deity in 1900 but in 1962 they have increased to 24 bearing the surname, "Nahaka".

The traditional sacred duties allotted to this category were to beat the drum in the processions of the Deity and to clean the roads owned by the Temple. For the former service, they enjoyed tax free house plots plus paddy lands whereas for the latter a monthly cash remuneration. In addition to

these, they also received a new dhoti every year by the Endowment after the Car festival.

They also served the local residents (priests) in the following capacities. Such as : beating drums in their house in marriages, sacred investitures and funeral etc. Also, they supplied them with bamboo baskets for domestic use for which they were paid in cash as well as in kind. But for supplying baskets they were paid the exact value of the commodity.

In 1962, they never attend any procession of the Deity, as the paddy lands endowed to them have been sold by their forefathers. Therefore, the Endowment authorities hire them on important occasions such as Car festival, Śiva Bibaha and Sandal festival processions. As all of them are employed in the local municipality as scavengers and sweepers, they no longer seem to be poor economically. The employees of the local municipality since 1950 have shifted to their new government quarters leaving their parental homes. They have largely abandoned playing on musical instruments during marriages and other social functions, as this task has mostly taken over by the Bauri musicians. Even with the lapse of many secular services, the Hadis are by no means become economically poor because of regular employment in the local municipality.

INCIDENTAL TEMPLE SERVANTS

A study of the Temple servants will be incomplete without mentioning the following servants engaged by the Endowment authorities for the services to the Deity. These services were and are not hereditary but the incumbents are appointed from among the sevaka families by the Endowment on monthly emoluments. These offices do not involve any grant of tax free house plots. The holders of such posts are paid exclusively in cash or kind. For the present purposes, they may be called "Incidental Temple Servants". There were and are five such offices in the Temple complex as follows:

(i) **Kotha Bhoga Bisoyi** (Ration supplier)

Generally, the big local grocers were/are appointed by the Endowment as such. For example, in 1900, a Teli caste person acted as such whereas in 1962 a brahman temple servant performs this job. This officer is neither paid in cash nor in kind by the Endowment except the exact value of the materials supplied. But curiously enough, he has been enlisted as a servant

of the Deity. He supplied/supplies all the requirements for the preparation of the Endowment food offering. The appointment and the removal of this person depends solely on the Management.

(ii) **Parba Yatra Bisoyi**

This person was/is a suar sevaka of the Deity. As per tradition, he brings the daily ration of the Temple from the sevaka, titled "Kotha Bhoga Bisoyi" and supply it to the Greatcook on duty. This position is also terminable by the Endowment authorities. He gets a monthly salary. He also cooks the food materials of the Deity in the island Temple during the sandal festival. In 1962, he received Rs. 30/- per month and a new dhoti every year but in 1900, his annual salary was Rs. 15/- plus the new dhoti.

(iii) **Ratha Kalasi** (Charioteer)

This employee is a suar by caste bearing the surname "Khuntia". He hails from a village named Kapileswar. His office clearly speaks of his duties. He acts as the charioteer in the Deity's Car and directs the Car to move on the Car festival day, singing obscene songs. For this service, he was given a new dhoti and cash remuneration of 2 annas in 1900 but in 1962, his cash remuneration has increased to Rs. 5/-. However, he still receives his new dhoti.

(iv) **Bahara devatanka phuiapani** (Worshipper of the outside deities)

This sevaka is a suar by caste. He bathes and gives flowers etc. to the deities installed outside the Temple compound. For this service, he received Rs. 0.85 paisa per month from the Temple. But this traditional remuneration still stands as it is in 1962 even though he does not perform his services daily.

(v) **Paniwala** (Supplier of water)

This employee is a Gauda by caste. His main duty was/is to distribute water to the public on the Car festival day. He gets only a days wage and a meal from the Endowment. In 1962, he simply accompanied the Car, as the local volunteers supply water etc. to the public.

In order to assess the socio-economic changes among the Temple sevakas, this author conducted a survey among them by means of a fact finding questionnaire (Appendix 9). For the purpose, 65 families of the different categories of sevakas were selected by means of the random samp-

ling from among the total 519 sevaka families. The household heads were generally interviewed by the author and the results of the survey are described below.

The survey revealed that the traditional occupations of the sevakas were Temple services, Pilgrim Pandas (Tirtha Panda) and agriculture or their caste occupations (in case of the other lower castes like, carpenter, potter, blacksmith etc.). Since they did not have any other secular engagement except the above, they spent their whole time in the Temple during their service days. In sum, they gave priority to the services of the Deity than the other works.

But in 1962, after the establishment of the new township for the state capital, several secular avenues were opened which diverted the attention of the young, educated and able bodied priests. Several reasons are responsible for this economic shift. For example : low remuneration in Temple services compared to the present cost of living; (ii) less prestige for the low remuneration (as the younger generation attribute it) in the Temple services ; (iii) modern education also did not allow the younger priests to perform the Temple services. According to the samples taken 58 p.c. of the priests disliked the Temple services for lower remunerations. Even, persons performing Temple services also preferred to change their occupation (Temple service). For example : 60 p.c. brahman, 15 p.c. Badu and 25 p.c. others liked to change their traditional occupation and cited several reasons supporting their decision. Firstly, Temple services involving more time compared to the remuneration. Therefore, they are unable to maintain their family members in the small remuneration. So, preferred to leave the Temple service. Secondly, the educated and well to do priests (Greatcooks, Pujapandas etc.) are willing to perform profitable services like the Greatcook, Paliabadu and Pujapanda services etc. But are unwilling to perform, minor services like Patri, Pantibadu, Hadapanaik, Khataseja etc. which require more time and yield less remuneration. Thirdly, those having secular engagements outside do not come to do the services in person but appoint a proxy. They still have the fear of losing their Temple land (Niskar) if they absent, and therefore, they appoint a proxy to perform the services. Sevakas like the trumpeteer and the Samartha are doing their services under pressure of the Endowment authorities, since they get more as daily wage earners than in the Temple service. The scheduled caste sevakas are an exception to this. They

are always eager to perform their services, as they are paid in cash their daily wages daily.

According to the samples taken only 3 p.c. brahman, 2 p.c. Badu, 6 p.c. others expressed their views to discontinue the Temple services totally whereas the others agreed to perform the other secular services in addition to their Temple services or to make alternate arrangements for the sacred services. Table 14 shows the main occupations of the sevakas during the time of the survey.

Even parents aspire for the higher education of their children only because their sons be able to get civil services. To such parents, civil service means more income and assured service. An interview with them in this connection revealed that the parents prefer that their sons be civil servants. Table 15 shows the aspiration of the parents for their children.

It is interesting to note regarding Table 15, that no parents agreed that their son should take up only Temple service. Education among the Temple priests has increased in 1962 compared to 1900 due to the establishment of new schools and colleges in the town. Table 16 shows the education among the Temple servants.

Along with changes in the traditional occupations and with the speedy increase in education, traditional family life has also been affected. Table 17 shows the percentage of nuclear and the joint families among the priests.

Table 17 shows that the nuclear families are more common among the sevakas and the traditional belief that the priests live in joint families does not hold good. In such families, the joint families become nuclear mainly due to poor income, oppression of the in-laws on the young wives. In many cases crowded living space also encourages separation.

Along with changes in the traditional education, occupation and family system etc. of the priests, social life has also undergone salient changes. The traditional caste hierarchy does not hold good in 1962 as inter-marriage and commensality are not frowned upon. Caste members no longer have faith in their leaders or elders and the caste councils have lost importance. Further details concerning these social changes are mentioned in Chapter 7.

SUMMARY

Among the important social changes, inter-marriage among castes of adjacent status is beginning to occur. Inter-caste commensality has become

more frequent and even brahmans are known to dine with sudras. The adoption of the sacred thread by the Badus who were originally not brahmans marks the rise in the social and their assimilation to the brahman caste. In 1962, there is an inconsistent trend in the use of surnames. Some have dropped a part of their surnames, like the "Pujapanda Mahapatra" and the "Naik Mahasuar", whereas some have added new surnames, like the Badus. On the other hand, the Garabadus and the Badus have chosen to sanskritize their names from Badu to Batu and Garabadu to Gargabatu.

Increased wealth has reduced the social distance between castes. To illustrate : the Gaudas no longer carry the brides or the grooms on palanquin as they consider the task to be degrading. Similarly, the Bauri scheduled caste have improved their economic position and are no longer considered polluting by clean castes. The barbers in 1962 hesitate to wash the feet of the guests in a social feast in their clients house. Whenever they are forced to do so they do it in their left hand, as they consider this work to be degrading.

As the foregoing description on the socio-economic conditions of the Temple servants shows, there has been many occupational choices opened to them since the growth of the new town. Many of the different categories of priests have taken to new jobs. Further, some traditional occupations have lent themselves easily to commercialization. For example : the barber's saloons and dhobi's laundries. This has done much to destroy the traditional jajmani relationships. Also, their traditional payments for services in kind, is no longer considered desirable as payments in cash. Many priests have turned to new occupations because they are financially more rewarding than the traditional ones. To illustrate : brahmans have taken to shop-keeping, Badus to tailoring, Samarthas etc. as mason, Barber to tea stall-keeping etc. Further, the declining worth of earning among the Temple servants present very real problems of livelihood. Among the lower castes, a growing sense of personality is also at issue. Barbers, Bauris etc. do not prefer to collect festive gratuities. The reduced economic incentives in the Temple services and the new opportunities for greater earnings in the new town have increased to disinclination for the sacred services.

That the reduced economic incentive for Temple services has not destroyed the ritual and festival cycles can be attributed to the rent free and additional free house plots etc., that are the pre-requisities of such services.

This pre-requisite gains additional value as land rents rise and land become increasingly hard to procure.

The most dramatic change has been in the occupational field. In 1900 the Temple servants depended on the Temple services for their living, but the younger generation in 1962 have turned to other secular occupations. The availability of choice in the pursuit of occupations is recent and results in large part from the establishment of the new township for the state capital, closed to the traditional sacred town.

Decline in prestige of Temple servants seems closely linked not only with the new economic alternatives but also to the lack of education and religious discipline among the sevakas, who appear to be a demoralised social group.

The Temple servants are unscrupulous in rejecting the services for which, nevertheless, they expect to continue holding Temple lands, Also, they are unscrupulous in selling Temple lands. They have now come to look upon their hereditary rent-free endowed lands as their private property, not as a remuneration for the services rendered. They do not see their position as a contractual one but as a privileged one.

REFERENCES

1. Refer, Puri District Gazetteers by L. S. S. O'Malley, 1929, Page 265.
2. The Temple Endowment auctions the right to collect tolls (Tola) from the peddlers and temporary stall keepers on the way side, on the Temple land, during the festival of Lord Lingaraj. Generally the highest bid is accepted by the Temple authorities. The Temple sevakas were/are exempted from paying this rent.
3. The family priests of the ex-rajas are known as "Rajguru". The Rajguru of the Puri Raja comes to the Temple on the Sivaratri day to worship the Vishnu aspect of Lingaraj. Since 1958, he has stopped coming to the Temple. Therefore, his services are now performed by a Kshetrabasi brahman.
4. Lord Krishna is the presiding deity of the Krishna Temple at Sakhigopal.
5. To the east of the present market area of Bhubaneswar town and between the Lewis Road, a plot of land known as "Kama bari" (Kama garden). The Kamas, former offerends of the Deity lived here during their existance in the town.
6. Refer to my article titled "The Badu—a caste serving the Lingaraj Temple".
7. The Putuli bania sevaka supplies 2 betel leaves (Piper betel), 2 alaica (Cardamomum), and a little Hengu (Ferrula Assa afoetida).

Chapter Seven

CHANGES IN NIJOGAS RELATED TO TEMPLE

The socio-economic, political and religious life of the Temple functionaries are guided by their respective caste associations locally known as the "Nijoga" and the "Jatiana Sabha". The former refers to the caste council of the Temple brahman functionaries and the latter to those of the non-brahman servants. The Badus (a leading functionary of the Deity) though are non-brahmans still possess one Nijoga of their own for their leading position in the sacred complex.

The word "nijoga" means, "a class of sevakas serving a particular deity or king" whereas the "Jatiana Sabha" refers the caste council of the non-brahman castes. The functions of these associations are more or less same. But the nijogas have an extra function, i.e. it acts as the guardian and protector of the caste members in the sacred complex. In Orissa, we find several such nijogas in the different pilgrim centres like Puri, Bhubaneswar, Sakhigopal and Jajpur. The "Jatiana Sabhas" exist everywhere in the state. The jurisdiction of a nijoga is confined to a particular area around a sacred centre whereas the Jatiana Sabhas include several villages located in different places.

Membership to a "nijoga" is confined to the persons belonging to the particular caste, serving a particular deity and living in the same area whereas the Jatiana Sabhas include members residing in one or several villages under its territorial jurisdiction. No fees corresponding to the entrance fee is paid by the members for membership in the associations. Because membership is counted only on birth in both these associations. But in a nijoga, adoption is possible if it is within the same caste group residing in the particular area and serving the same deity. But this restriction does not hold good in case of a Jatiana Sabha. The officials in a Jatiana Sabha occupy a hereditary status whereas the office-bearers in a nijoga hold office for a specified period of time. The latter are selected either by nomination or election by the members in the stipulated period of time. Though several such caste associations exist in the Temple town Bhubaneswar, we have taken

here only the nijogas related to the Temple as it plays a vital role in the management of the Temple. In the present context, we have taken the four nijogas existing in the town of Bhubaneswar, such as: Kshetrabasi, Puja-panda, Mahasuar and Badu nijogas.

Nijoga, Chhatisa nijoga, Chhatisa Pataka

These are the different local terms used in Orissa to explain different aspects of caste. The meaning of the nijoga, has already been explained in the beginning of this chapter. According to the local tradition prevalent in the state, 36 different persons are required to perform the daily services of a Deity in the Temple or a king in a palace. These 36 different persons are said to represent 36 different castes or nijogas. The word "Chhatisa pataka" is a curious phenomenon. As per the local tradition, "Chhatisa nijoga" and "Chhatisa pataka" hold the one and the same meaning. But according to Praharaj (1933, Vol. III) the term, "Chhatisā Pātaka" conveys a different meaning. For example: the Hindus are divided into four varnas (Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaisya and Sudra). The lowest ranking Sudras of the traditional caste hierarchy are again sub-divided into 36 different sub-castes or patakas. In other words, the term, "Chhatisā Pātaka"[10] means the 36 different sub-castes amongst the Sudras according to their respective callings. Therefore, the words, "Chhatisa nijoga" and "Chhatisa pataka" are different terms.

Days prior to the nijogas

Before the nijogas were established in Bhubaneswar, the leading Temple functionaries ran clubs (ākhadā) of their own. The first club of its kind in the town was started by the Mahasuars in about 1894 which was split up into two in 1900 due to the difference of opinion among the members. The Badus then started a club in 1902, near their wards close to the Mitreswar Temple. These clubs were led by rich and influential persons. These clubs besides the social activities staged dramas, hired dancing boys, arranged feasts and singsong sessions on festive occasions.

These two clubs ran by the suars jointly started a circus party in which not only the suars but also outsiders participated. This author knows the two clubs ran by the suars in the town. These clubs were popularly known as the "Baula garh akhada" and "Chikiti akhada". In 1962, these clubs have become a moribund except arranging feasts during the sandal and other notable festivals.

Prior to the establishment of the nijogas functions were performed in an informal basis. After its establishment, corporate groups were set up to deal with such duties and to focus responsibilities on different aspects. Necessity for establishing such nijogas were felt, when the rivalry between the Mahasuars, Badus, Pujapandas reached its climax mainly on the rights and privileges in the sacred complex. Therefore, the caste elders decided it to be the high time to fight with the enemies unitedly. The strongest rivalry was between the Badus and the Suars, as both the groups performed major services in the ritual cycle of the Temple and owned clients (jajamans) in the different parts of the country.

Both the Suars and the Badus served pilgrims in the town. Prior to the establishment of the nijogas, the suars were reported to have been at the mercy of the Badus who were the influential and rich persons in the locality and were well placed in the society. The suars acted as their agents in the pilgrim estates and brought the pilgrims to them coming by ferry from Balianta. They also supplied the Badus, with food cooked in the Temple during festive days. Chafing under this subservience, the suars established an association to protest their individual and common interests. During the early stages each suar familly contributed a handful of rice daily to the common fund of the nijoga. It is said that during this period, money was rare therefore, the household heads instructed their wives to set aside a handful of rice daily in a separate pot. This was given to the nijoga at the end of every week. Rich persons in the Community also contributed cash subscription to the nijoga fund. Thus, an official building was erected in the premises of the Kapali Temple situated near the Suar wards. Then the Badu nijoga came into existence. It was also built in the premises of the Mitreswar Temple, situated close to the Badu wards. According to the informants, the Badus borrowed money from the landlord of Balakati (a nearby village) to construct their nijoga in 1851 as they were all in short of funds after fighting with the suars in the court of law. The Pujapanda nijoga waw built after the construction of the Badu nijoga mainly on the donation of the members near the Ramayani Temple situated near their wards. The youngest nijoga built in the town is the Kshetrabasi nijoga and it was constructed mostly on the gift and donations of the ex landlords, rajas and the visiting pilgrims. The Temple Endowment also granted a tax free land for the purpose.

Nijogas and the Temple

The three nijogas except the Kshetrabasi, played an important part in the administration of the Temple rites and services etc. The members of the three nijogas being the principal functionaries of the Deity, were always consulted by the Endowment authorities in important matters pertaining to the management of the services and general administration of the Temple.

As the Temple authorities did not venture to punish any or all of these principal sevakas, it simply referred the matter to the concerned nijoga. For example : when any mismanagement occurred in the Temple services due to a particular sevaka, the Endowment authorities informed the concerned nijoga about the erring sevaka for necessary action. Similarly, if any of the nijoga member was kept under a social boycott for violating the caste rule, the matter was also referred to the Endowment authorities prohibiting the culprit entrance to the Temple.

All the four nijogas will be discussed in terms of origin, finances, functions both in 1900 and in 1962 to find out the changes that have crept into these socio-political organisations. The newly formed Association of the sevakas (Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti) will be discussed as a super nijoga at the end of this chapter.

KSHETRÂBASI BRAHMAN NIJOGA

This nijoga was established in the year 1934 by the local Kshetrabasis serving the Deity, on a plot of Temple land located to the south-east corner of the Temple tank. This site for the construction of the nijoga building was selected for the following reason. Nearness to the sacred tank Bindusagar where the members performed the religion performances of the pilgrims and the clients.. The plot of land on which the nijoga building stands was declared tax free on October 17, 1940 by the Endowment authorities, at the request of the nijoga members, as they agreed to repair the banks of the Bindusagar tank freely and to display fireworks in the marriage and honeymoon ceremonies of the Deity. As said earlier, the present building was constructed mainly on the patronage of the ex-feudatory chiefs, rajas, landlords and benevolent public. Though, this nijoga was renamed as the "Srotiya Brahman Parisada" in a resolution passed by the members on June 26, 1945, the traditional name nijoga still exists. Enquiry to this regard shows that, this was done only to

advise the general public in religious matters, in the style of the Mukti-mandap[1] (Council of brahmans) of the Jagannath Temple at Puri.

This nijoga since its inception, was run by an elected body representing five persons and the officers held office for a period of one year. The officers acted according to the written rules and regulations passed and approved by the executive members. The rules and regulations framed in the nijoga specified the codes of conduct of its members. It also specified the percentage of payment to the nijoga by the members performing religious performances in the Temple tank.

The finances of the nijoga were limited and meagre compared to the other nijogas as its major receipts were derived from the auction of the Kotha[2] and collections from benevolent public, devotees etc. In 1934, the total receipts of the nijoga was Rs. 80/- which decreased to Rs. 60/- in 1962, as the auction of the Kotha was postponed due to the non-cooperation of the members. The major expenses of the nijoga were the Panti food, making of fireworks, sundry purchases for the office and repair of the nijoga building. In 1934, the expenses amounted to Rs. 14/- which increased to Rs. 70/- in 1962, in spite of the postponement of the Panti food offering and the display of the fireworks.

The functions of the nijoga were trivial. First, is social. It maintains law and order in the society and guide the members according to the rules and regulations framed by the nijoga. The second function is sacred. Under this category, the following types of functions are included. Those are : performance of services in the Temple and to fight with the Endowment authorities regardidg their rights in the sacred complex, repairing of the banks of the Bindusagar tank, presentation of the Panti food to the Deity, display of fireworks in the marriage procession of the Deity. In addition to this, it also advised the local residents regarding ritual expiations etc. Lastly, this nijoga served as a sort of club to its members who played cards and ganjapā[3] (a kind of local playing card) etc. during their leisure hours.

In 1962, the traditional functions of the nijoga have been deteriorated due to non-cooperation among the members and due to the stoppage of the auction of the Kotha. The nijoga in 1962 has lost its control on the members as most of the members perform secular occupations leaving aside their traditional paternal occupations. Along with the decline in the sacred services to the Deity, the sacred duties of the nijoga have stopped in 1962. To illustrate

the nijoga no longer undertakes the repairing and maintenance of the steps of the Bindusagar tank as it is being done by the local municipality, does not display fireworks in the marriage procession of the Deity and have stopped the presentation of the Panti to the deities. Though the nijoga have violated the traditional contracts with the Endowment authorities, still it enjoys the tax free land on which the nijoga office building stands. After the death of the elderly members, the nijoga no longer advises the public regarding religious expiation etc. Less reumuneration in the priestly services have attracted the younger generation towards secular services.

Younger generation and the nijoga

In spite of all these dislikes towards the sacred services and the priestly duties, the younger generation in 1962, tried several times to re-organise the nijoga which has almost gone defunct. In order to revive the former position of the nijoga, a general meeting was called for and proposals were put-forth before the elders to raise the finances of the Association to make it more stronger. As the receipts from the sacred sources were minimum the members tried to raise funds from individual members stopping many traditional social customs. For example : the members were requested to pay the nijoga a small amount of money instead of spending money in traditional social functions. This step was taken by the younger members to bring a change in the traditional customs of the society. For example : instead of giving new clothes to the clan members during a funeral, the deceased family should pay Rs. 5/- to the nijoga. The practice of cutting finger nails and apply red stain on the edges of the legs of the female members of the clan through the maid barber was stopped and the members were told to pay Rs. 2/- to the nijoga instead. Besides, the members were requested to clear up their previous debts to the nijoga pending on them long since. Members must contribute Rs. 2/- to the nijoga before constructing a new house or building. The old rates of payment to the nijoga by the members doing religious performances near the Temple tank were changed at an increased rate. But in spite of all these decisions, the elderly members did not co-operate with the younger generation, as they did not like to part off the traditional social customs. They did not clear up the nijoga dues to the nijoga though they agreed to do so immediately. Under the circumstances, the youths became disinterested as a result the nijoga building now stands disrepair.

PUJAPANDA NIJOGA

The early records of the Pujapanda nijoga are not available therefore, the date of its establishment and its early activities depend on hearsay. According to my informants, the nijoga records were burnt in the great fire of 1940, when the whole Bhubaneswar town was burnt. The flag of the Lingaraj Temple was also burnt. However, my oldest informants state that the Mahasuar, Pujapanda and the Badu nijogas were established in approximately 1900 A.D.

Originally, this nijoga consisted of 5 Pujapanda families but in 1962 there are 17 such families connected to the nijoga. The nijoga office is located in a thatched house situated at the entrance of the Pujapanda ward close to the Ramayani Temple.

This nijoga, after its inception till to date, is managed by a Board of Trustees elected by the members on the communal feast day during the sandal festival. The trustees of the nijoga officiated for a period of one year. This Board of Trustees looked after the court cases filed by and against this nijoga and its other functions. All the socio-political issues arising in the society was also decided by the nijoga members. Until atleast 1936, this nijoga was unified which is indicated from the different court cases filed by this nijoga to safeguard its rights and duties in the Temple complex. As the nijoga office room was burnt during the great fire and the members could not afford to reconstruct the house, a local man was allowed by the members, to reconstruct the house, a local man was allowed by the members, to reconstruct the house at his own cost, to start a school (Cahali). As a result, this man still to date, uses this house as a school. According to the agreement with the nijoga members this man thatches and repairs the house every year.

The finances of this nijoga are limited and ranged between few hundreds. Due to the non-availability of the earlier records, I interviewed a number of elderly members connected to the nijoga in the past, atleast to get an idea of the different major receipts and expenses of the nijoga. The following is a detailed description of the receipts of the nijoga since its inception.

1. Chhatrabhoga fees

This fee was collected by the Temple authorities from the suars supplying prasad to the general public. It was divided among the Temple Endow-

ment, Badu and the Pujapanda nijogas at the rate of 60 p.c., 20 p.c., 20 p.c. respectively. The Pujapanda nijoga thus received a sum of about Rs. 200/- per annum. In 1962, this fee collection has been stopped by the Endowment as the Mahasuars did not pay such fees to the Endowment.

2. Bhagari mahal

Pujapandas acting as sacred priests to the visiting pilgrims paid to the nijoga, one anna per rupee collected from their clients, as their remuneration. In 1962, this collection has been stopped.

3. Remuneration from monasteries (Matha pauna)

Sankarananda and the Sivatirtha maths situated near the Temple paid every year to this nijoga a sum of Rs. 2/- in cash and about 24 kilograms of rice, as the pujapandas presented their food materials to the Deity every day in the Temple. In 1962, the monasteries have stopped such payment to the nijoga, though the pujapandas still offer the food materials of the monasteries to the Deity.

4. Fees for marriage and sacred thread

Members paid a sum of Rs. 4/- and Rs. 2/- to the nijoga fund for a marriage and the sacred investitures respectively in their houses.

5. Fine

In addition to all these, the nijoga also collected fines from the members for breach of caste rules and for disobeying the decisions of the nijoga.

Of the major expenditures the following were important. Worship of the goddess Ramayani, Panti food offering to Lingaraj etc. when they pass by the nijoga during car and the sandal festivals legal expenses for the court cases, repairing and the thatching of the nijoga office.

The actual receipts and the expenses of the nijoga in the year 1962 is Rs. 125/- and Rs. 73/- respectively. The receipts included the arrear Chhatrabhog fees from the Temple and arrears pending one members whereas the expenditures included worship of the goddess Ramayani, Panti food expenses, purchase of office stationeries and legal expenses. In 1962, the major expenditures of the nijoga is on legal expenses, and purchase of office stationeries etc. than the worship and the Panti food etc. of the deities.

This nijoga, unlike the others, fought with the Endowment authorities regarding the rights and duties of the members in the Temple. It administered the rules and regulations framed by the caste council. Breach of social law and disobedience to the nijoga authorities were dealt with severe punishments.

Members violating the caste rules, were kept under a social ban locally called "Ekagharikia". Such persons were boycotted by the caste brothers as well as the caste barber, washermen. In 1938, one PP was expelled from the society, as he dinned in the house of a local carpenter. Therefore, he was excommunicated from the society and was also forbidden to perform his Temple services. After a fortnight, he apologised to the nijoga members and was readmitted in the society after drinking water mixed with cowdung[4]. In another instant, one BP was driven out from the society by the nijoga as he married a widow and drank alcohol. This man, therefore, left Bhubaneswar town and migrated to a nearby village with his wife. Fines were also levied on the members for violating caste rules and for minor offences. This breach of caste rules is no longer penalised in 1962 and is gradually losing importance. The young members now freely join in the marriage and other feasts in low caste families. Punishments imposed on the members of the nijoga due to several reasons. Out casting is not an effective sanction in 1962 as commercial washermen and barbers are available in the town. If any member is forbidden Temple services, be easily finds a secular employment in the new town which was impossible in 1900. This situation has diminished group solidarity as the members do not gather in the evenings, as they return from their duties at odd hours.

Internal and Inter-Nijoga quarrels

No case of litigation or quarrel occurred between the members in 1900 in connection with the nijoga till 1950. But, several cases were filed by this nijoga against the Greatcook nijoga mostly basing on their rights and duties in the sacred complex. These cases are as follows. The Pujapandas traditionally offered Dālābhoga[5] of the devotees to Lingaraj which the Mahasuars forcibly did, causing a great loss to the community. In the year 1907, during the car festival, while offering the "Dālābhoga" of a Badu to the Deity on the car, a suar sevaka forcibly snatched away the "Dālābhoga" from the offerend and presented it to the Deity. Basing on this issue, this nijoga filed

a case in the court of law. The court of law, gave favourable decree to this nijoga and the erring suar sevaka was sentenced for 10 days and paid a fine of Rs. 15/- which was paid to the complainant. Even after this decision as the Suars again did this, this nijoga filed a case in the court of the E.C. in 1962. The E.C., also informed the suar nijoga to stop this, in his letter No. 3474-37/986-P(M) dated, May 23, 1962. The second case filed in the court of law, by this nijoga against the suar was in connection with "Chanda"[6] right from the Chhatrā bhoga. The court gave the decree in support of the Pujapanda nijoga directing the suar nijoga to pay it to the Pujapandas. Recently in 1962, on the issue of a property right, the members of this nijoga split into two factions. Becuase, one PP died heirless and the caste members did not recognise his adopted son, as he was not from within the caste group. Therefore, the caste brothers directed a nephew of the deceased to perform the funeral rites. Since, the deceased had two nephews the caste members were divided into two groups supporting both of them separately. In the long run, one group won the battle as their nominee was declared to be the adopted son of the deceased. The dissidents therefore, were dissatisfied and boycotted the sacred investiture of a caste member of the rival group. On this issue till to date, the nijoga is divided into two groups and the issue has not yet been settled. As a result of factionalism among the members functions of the nijoga in 1962 have hampered seriously. To illustrate: the Panti food is now offered to Lingaraj by a section of the members as the nijoga do not spend anything from the common fund. The daily and the paryan worship of the goddess Ramayani is now done by the members in turn. The communal feast held during the sandal festival has also been stopped. However, the nijoga office still exists as it is maintained by the school teacher who holds his school here in this house.

MAHASUAR or SUAR NIJOGA

In the absence of authentic records, the exact date of establishment of this nijoga is unknown. However the earliest records of the nijoga go back to 1805. My informants also claim this to be the oldest nijoga in Bhubaneswar.

The nijoga unites all the Mahasuars or cooks serving in the Lingaraj Temple. The jurisdiction of this nijoga includes the nine suar wards in Bhubaneswar town as well as the suars living in Kapileswar village. These suars living in Kapileswar village are also members in this nijoga as they

have cooking services in the Lingaraj Temple and have both consangunal and affinal ties with the Bhubaneswar suars. It has also control over the barber (Bhandari), milkman (Gauda), cultivator (Casa) and the fisherman (Keuta) castes residing in the town as they provide free labour to the nijoga during the communal feast day and during other festivals. On the communal feast day during the sandal festival, the barbers distributed the prasad of the goddess Kapali in the houses of the members. The Casas work as menials and supplied fuel and water etc. for cooking in the communal feast, the fishermen supply fish and flattened rice (Cudā) etc. for the Communal feast. The milkmen (Gauda) carry the Deity of the nijoga (Srikrishna) during the Dola purnami festival on a float (viman) to the different wards in the town.

Compared to the membership, movable and immovable properties, this nijoga claims the highest place among the nijogas. It owned landed properties in 12 revenue villages (mouzas) situated near Bhubaneswar measuring 40 acres which consists of paddy land, house plots, tanks, buildings etc. All these lands were purchased between 1881 to 1960 in the name of the goddess Kapali, the presiding Deity of the caste. The revenue from tanks and buildings is another important source of income of the nijoga. In Bhubaneswar, this nijoga owns 7 houses of which 3 are pucca and 4 are thatched. Excluding, the nijoga office and the granary all the houses are rented out to outsiders and to members for commercial purposes. In addition to these house, this nijoga owns a thatched house called "Kukuteswar math" with a Sadhu living in it. But since 1958, after the death of the Sadhu, this house is now in the process of decay.

In the beginning the affairs of the nijoga were managed by two major bodies called, "Board of Trustees" and the "Council of ward members" (Sāhi nakshyatra mandali). In addition, this nijoga also employed 3 persons as the employees of the nijoga such as :-one clerk (Gumāstā), a sweeper and a peon. The clerk maintained the records of the council whereas the sweeper cleaned the premises of the Kapali Temple and the nijoga office room. This sweeper is not a Hadi by caste but belongs to a cultivating caste. The peon summons the members of the Board of Trustees and the council to attend the meetings and watches the nijoga treasury and the office at night.

The "Board of Trustees" consisting of 4 members (President, Vice president, Treasurer, Secretary) was the highest authority in the affairs of the

nijoga without whose approval nothing was done. This council was a law making body. Members to this board were elected by the members in an open session of the nijoga during the sandal festival on the communal feast day. The members thus elected held office for a period of three years. They could also be removed from office for unsatisfactory discharge of duties. Membership was honorary with no stipend attached to it.

The "Council of ward members", otherwise called as the "Sāhi nakshyatra mandali" was next to the "Board of Trustees". It consisted of 30 members from the 9 suar wards representing the nijoga as well as one member from the suars of Kapileswar village. Members to this council were also elected on the communal feast day during the Sandal festival. The term of office and other conditions of services of these members were same as those of the members in the Board of Trustees. The method of electing members to the Board of Trustees and to the Council of ward members were peculiar. Generally, the eldest member of a family was authorised to vote in such elections by the raise of hands. Members in the council, decided all the quarrels and the social matters occurred in their wards and suggested the Board of Trustees to impose penalty and to punish the culprits. In sum, this council was a recommending body.

In 1900 all the members representing the "Board of Trustees" and the Council of ward members, were all rich and were men of influence and well versed in managing court cases. Education was not considered important to be a member in these bodies.

The office establishment consisted of a clerk, a peon and a sweeper. These incumbents in spite of their cash salary every month received a new cloth on the Dola purnami day and a warm cloth during winter.

In 1900, the official members in the nijoga were respected and obeyed by the members. According to informants, during the nijoga meetings in the precinct of the Kapali Temple, nobody even members passed by that way for the fear of the leaders.

In 1962, the official administration consists of a Board of Trustees consisting of 13 members, 3 of which are designated as President, Secretary and Treasurer. The others are known as the "Executive Members". To elect these officials in 1962, only a few members assemble in the nijoga office, though the nijoga peon give extensive publicity about the matter among the

members. The election is not held in traditional manner instead of the incumbents hold office year after year. For example, no election was held between 1958 to 1961 and the same officials continued for 3 years. The reason offered in this connection is that since the nijoga was involved in court cases during this period, knowledgeable persons were required to contiuue in office until the finalisation of the cases. In 1962, the members in the Board of Trustee are all educated and hold civil service in the new town. Three elderly members hold the three major portfolios whereas the other Executive members were given individual responsibilities. Since, most of the members hold civil service and are engaged in secular spheres, they do not attend the meeting of the Board regularly as a result the nijoga meetings can not be held due to want of quorum.

In 1962, staff of the nijoga has reduced to two instead of the three, as the position of the sweeper has been abolished since the maintenance of the Kapali Temple has been taken over by the A.S.O.I.

Finances

An overall view of the finances of this nijoga reveal that in 1900 this nijoga collected about Rs. 4,000/- and spent about Rs. 2,000/- which increased to Rs. 12,000/- (receipt) and Rs. 5,000/- (expenses) in 1962, details of which is given below. From the above figures it is clear that this nijoga make a heavy cash transaction every year.

The following are the major items of income of the nijoga.

1. **Auction of the mahala** (Estate)

This is one of the important sources of receipt of the nijoga and there are five different mahalas auctioned by the nijoga officials in 1900 as follows :

a. Badu sahi mahala

Since the Badus are one of the principal rivals of this nijoga, the Board of Trustees directed the members to sell the food of grace (Mahaprasad) at a higher price to the Badus. When there were difficulties for such collection the nijoga auctioned the right to one member to sell the prasad to Badus. This auction holder at first paid the bid money to the nijoga and collected the money from the Badus buying the prasad from him either for their own or for their pilgrims. The nijoga also fixed this surcharge at the following

rate': 20 paisa per rice pot, 25 paisa per pot of dal and 50 paisa for a pot of curry above the usual charges.

b. Pujapanda mahala

The Pujapandas being another rival group of this nijoga also paid the above rate extra than the usual price while buying prasad from the Temple. Another suar was also authorised to sell the prasad to the Pujapandas only by paying a lump sum to the nijoga as the bid money. The rates of the surcharges to the Pujapandas are same as those of the Badus.

c. Caulia mahala

In addition to the above, the members of the nijoga supplying the Temple food (Prasad) to the outsiders also paid to the nijoga a surcharge as follows: rice per pot 10 paisa, dal per pot 15 paisa and curry per pot 20 paisa. The suars supplying the prasad paid this amount to the nijoga. It is interesting to note that, as the clients ordering for the prasad in 1900 supplied rice, dal etc. to the cooks, the surcharge payable to the nijoga in this connection was paid in the shape of rice. According to the records of the nijoga, rice measuring 300 gounis (equal to one quintal was received by the nijoga from this head).

d. Jatri mahala

Unlike the Caulia mahal detailed above, the members serving pilgrims in their capacity as "Tirtha Pandas", paid to the nijoga a sum of one anna (6 paisa) per rupee received from the clients as their remuneration. The nijoga auctioned this right to a member who collected the amount from the members practising this business and paid the bid money in lump sum to the nijoga.

2. Sale of paddy

The sale of paddy harvested from the lands of the nijoga was another source of income to the nijoga. After the harvest, the paddy was stocked in the nijoga granary attached to the nijoga office and was sold to the public as well as to the members. Members of the nijoga had just claims on this paddy at a reduced price than the others. Surplus could be sold to the outsiders at the prevailing market price.

3. Fees

This nijoga in 1900, collected a fee as detailed below from each member for their marriage, sacred thread, re-marriage[8] ceremonies observed in their

houses at the following rates. For each marriage 3 rupees, sacred thread 2 rupees and re-marraige 2 rupees and 50 paisas.

4. **Application fees**

This nijoga in addition to its multiferous duties also acted as a court of justice. It members as well as lower caste communities under the control of this nijoga, might request the adjudication of any case within the caste or between castes. For this the nijoga received a rupee from each applicant as application fee.

5. **Miscellaneous collections**

Under this head three different items of income are included e.g. auction of the fishing rights in the tanks owned by the nijoga, fines from members and dues from the Temple for the Deula sodha[9] (ceremonial cleaning of the Temple compound).

The major receipts of the nijoga like the auction of mahalas, application fee etc. have been stopped mainly due to the non-cooperation of the members. In 1962, the auction of mahalas was boycotted by the members on the plea that "why only members cooking in the Temple and serving pilgrims will pay to the nijoga when the other members doing secular services do not ?" Because majority members (engaged in secular services) only get the benefits from the nijoga when others (cooking in the Temple and doing pilgrim service) pay to the nijoga through the auctioners of the mahalas. As a result the auction of mahalas was stopped.

For this the members in the Board of Trustees created new sources of income of the nijoga as follows :

a. *Auction of the Great Cook service* (Mahâsuar pali)

This service has been divided among all the Great Cooks who perform it in the Temple in turn daily. Due to the financial crisis of the nijoga, the members in the Board of Trustee auctioned this service to a person and got a lump sum of money at a time. This service was auctioned on the ground that each members will be given a certain share of the sweets (Khei) by the auctioner. Thus, the actual sevaka got some Khei in his turn from the auctioner without any labour. But this was cancelled after six months of the auction due to the serious protest of the members.

b. Ananta Vasudev Mahala

This nijoga as the caretaker of the Temple, finances for the services of the Deity Ananta Vasudev and thatches the Temple kitchen every year.

Customarily, each member on their Great Cook service (Mahasuar pali) day appoint a priest (Pujak) for the Deity and pay him Rs. 3/- per day. In return they collect from a toll (Tola) at the rate of one anna (6 paisa) per pot cooked here in the Temple.

But after this auction, the nijoga appointed a full time priest for the worship of the Deity Ananta Vasudev and collected the toll from the cooks through the priest.

According to the traditional custom, the Greatcook sevakas of the Deity was paid a sum of Rs. 1.20 paisa by the Temple for supplying the food offering of the goddess Gopalini. This amount, after the auction of the Great-cook service by the nijoga, went to the nijoga treasury instead of the auction holder or to the actual suar.

c. Income from Puja receipt

After the construction of the new capital, most of the visitors did not like to take the help of the priests while visiting the Temple. Therefore, certain priests as the rumour goes, started false receipts and forced the visitors to deposit a fixed fee against the receipt, failing which they were not allowed to worship the Deity. Afterwards, the suar nijoga started a receipt system and forced the visitors to pay the puja fees first and then to worship the Deity. According to the rumour, this amount was divided between the Jatri Panda (Pilgrim panda) and the nijoga at the rate of 75 p.c. and 25 p.c. respectively. However, this system was stopped in 1962, when it was criticised publicly by the visitors to the Temple.

d. House rent

Houses owned by the nijoga is rented to outsiders for commercial purposes and the income from this is one of the major receipts of the nijoga.

Following were the customary expenses of the nijoga as in 1900.

The expenses can be categorised into two separate headings, such as, sacred and secular. Expenses for Sandal festival, Parvan, Durgastami, Sunia, Dola Purnima, daily worship of Goddess Kapali and the various Pantis offered to Lingaraj in different occasions come under the sacred category. Of the

secular items, house repairs, taxes for lands and houses, expenses for court cases and salary of the staff were important. This nijoga, since its inception supplies free food to five sadhus visiting the Deity every day from the common purse of the nijoga. The nijoga fed several persons during the communal feast day and Durgastami days. During "Holi" festival the Deity[10] of nijoga (Krishan) is taken in a procession round the wards of the members.

In 1962, the main expenses of the nijoga are same as 1900. But the amount of money spent has been cut compared to 1900, as these are observed in less pomp and show. However, the daily worship of Goddess Kapali and the Parvan[11] worship during the Durgapuja is still observed by the nijoga.

FUNCTIONS

The functions of the nijoga in 1900 were as follows:

i. **Judicial functions**

The members in the "Board of Trustees" acted as a court of justice and tried cases arising in and outside the society within its jurisdiction. No fee corresponding to the court fee was paid by the complainant to file the cases. Instead, an application fee worth Re. 1/ was collected from the complainant. Cases were tried only after the receipt of the applications. Following types of cases, were decided by the nijoga, such as adultery, concubinage, breach of caste rules, disobeyance to the caste elders or to the decision of the nijoga, drinking alcohol etc. The culprit was also punished by the members according to the nature of offence. Following types of punishments were awarded to the defaulters, cash fines and corporal punishments (standing in one leg, holding ears, go round the wards carrying a jug full of water, rubbing nose on the ground). In severe cases the culprit was kept under social isolation either temporarily or permanently. As the judicial authority, the members acted according to the caste laws prevailing in the society. In addition, the members also decided cases arising among the low castes under the control of the Association.

In 1962, the nijoga is no longer consulted by the members in such issues

ii. **Ritual activities**

As a socio-political organisation of the members this nijoga served many ritual functions, such as, the worship of the Goddess Kapali, Ananta Basudev,

Parvana worship of Kapali, Dola festival, Durgastami, Sandal festival etc. In addition, it also served Panti foods to the Deity when the procession of the Lord Lingaraj passed by, the nijoga.

iii. Caste regulations

The nijoga elders or the members in the Board of Trustees as the sole guardian and protector of the caste framed many new rules and regulations dealing with the caste.

iv. Welfare activities

This activity was started in 1950 by the young members of the nijoga in one of its buildings. A reading room was opened to enable the members to read different newspapers and books. A homœpathic dispensary and a Sanskrit school was also opened by this nijoga in the town to distribute free medicines to the ailing members and to spread Sanskrit education among the members desirous of performing Temple services. It also helped widows and orphans at the time of need. It also, granted money to members in their sickbed and at the time of want. These activities were stopped when the young members resigned from the Board of Trustees in 1953. Supply of free food to 5 itinerant mendicants daily is one of the welfare activities of the nijoga.

v. Protection of Caste interests

As the guardian of the caste, this nijoga acted as the protector of the rights and duties of its members in the sacred and secular spheres. Therefore, it filed several cases in the court of law, to protect the rights of the members in the Temple about which will be discussed in the following pages.

QUARRELS WITHIN AND BETWEEN NIJOGAS

In this section, we shall discuss the typical cases and quarrels (occurred within and between nijogas) decided either in the nijoga or by the court of law. These cases will be described according to their occurrence. The cases decided in the nijoga will be discussed first which will follow the inter-nijoga quarrels decided in the court of law.

Intra-nijoga cases

(i) **Widow marriage** (1925)

B.P. and M.P. arranged marriages of their widowed daughters, violating the traditional caste rules. They were therefore, outcasted immediately by the nijoga elders for breach of caste rule. They were kept under a social ban. Not only they were boycotted by the caste barber, washermen neighbours and relatives but also, they were forbidden to serve the Deity on their service days. As a result, these two persons, appealed to the nijoga elders for an excuse. Their requests were granted after which they were re-admitted in the society by paying a cash penalty of 20 rupees each.

(ii) **Adultery** (1932)

GG and MD had illicit relations which was attributed to the frequent visit of GG to MD's house. One day, they were caught red-handed in action by the neighbours. When the matter was heard by the nijoga authorities, a general meeting of the caste members was called to which both the culprits were summoned. As they did not appear in the meeting, they were ostracized for ever from the society. After three years, GG and MD were readmitted in the society at the formers request. They postrated themselves at the feet of the trustees in an open session of the nijoga and carried a jug full of water in the wards as a token of punishment.

(iii) **Inappropriate occupation** (1934)

B.M. opened a grocery shop in the town and sold oil etc. to the public. When this matter was brought to the notice of the trustees he was fined Rs. 5/- for practising a non-caste[12] occupation. B.M. was excused after he paid the fine and gave up selling oil in his shop.

(iv) **Violation of nijoga decision** (1936)

According to the traditional custom, food cooked in the Temple kitchen must be presented to Lingaraj alone and none others. But the suars supplying prasad to the public (During festivals when there is great demand for the prasad) by offering it to the other Deities in the Temple precinct. This matter was severely criticised in the public. Therefore, the nijoga warned all the suars not to do this in future. But one K.G. was found by some local public while presenting the food to Narasingh located in the Temple compound.

Therefore, he was fined Rs. 2/- by the nijoga for violation of the nijoga decision.

(v) **Keeping a concubine** (1940)

J.K.M. after the death of his parents sold away his paternal property and kept a Bauri woman as concubine. When this was referred to the nijoga, he was ostracized. As J.K.M. did not approach the nijoga elders for a pardon his lineage members even did not carry his corpse after his death.

(vi) **Commensality** (1942)

G.K. and B.M. were outcasted for attending the marriage feast in the house of a low caste halua-brahman although they had personal relations with the latter. But G.K. and B.M. were fined Rs. 30/- each, for dinning in a low caste halua-brahman family.

2. CASE BETWEEN SUAR AND NON-SUAR CASTE MEMBERS

The following is an instance where the nijoga decided the quarrel between a member and an outsider. One J.K.B. a local milkman borrowed money from a suar and did not repay the loan as promised. When the suar asked J.K.B. to pay off the loan failing which he would refer the case to the nijoga. In reply to this, J.K.B. said that, "The brahman nijoga members will hold my penis". This insult was immediately informed to the nijoga elders and J.K.B. was summoned by the nijoga in the same evening. J.K.B. was excused as he went round the Kapali Temple compound by rubbing his nose on the ground. Further, he was fined to the extent of Rs. 40/- and repaid the debt immediately.

3. QUARRELS BETWEEN NIJOGAS

Several cases arose between the Suar, Badu and the Pujapanda nijogas. All these cases were filed concerning mostly on the rights and duties of the members in the sacred complex. For example in 1902, a case was filed by the Badus against this nijoga when one of the leaders of the Badus was killed by a group of Suars in the Temple compound. This quarrel arose when the Badus claimed to cook in the Temple kitchen which was the duty of the suars. When a Badu forcibly entered into the Temple kitchen he was attacked by a group of Suars and was killed on the spot. This made the services of the Deity to a standstill position.

In 1903, the Badus filed a case against the suars regarding their right to

offer bela leaves to the Deity. Traditionally, this duty was performed by the Badus and when the suars objected to this, a case was filed in the court. The court gave the verdict in favour of the Badus. However, the Suars reserved the right to receive the presents offered to the Deity by their clients which was not previously allowed by the Badus.

In addition to these, several cases were fought between the suars and the Badus over their right on pilgrims. Such cases, though arose between individuals, money was spent from the nijoga treasury. Of these cases, the "Muktagachha Raj Family" case is noteworthy This raj family actually belonged to a Badu family but the court gave the decision in favour of the Suar.

4. INTER-CASTE CASES

According to the official proceedings of the nijoga, there was no single conflict between the members, as all the cases were decided by the nijoga elders. As the members in the Board of Trustees were respected by the members, no major quarrels arose among them.

In 1958-59, the members split up into two groups on a minor issue which runs as follows :—

B.P. and B.M., two leading members of the nijoga were authorised by the trustees to meet the Director-General, A.S.O.I at New Delhi, in connection with the ownership of the old kitchen in the Temple premises. After their return from Delhi, a rumour spread among the members that B.P. and B.M. have misappropriated the nijoga money during their tour to New Delhi. When this matter was seriously debated in the town, the members were asked to produce detail expenditures to the Board of Trustees which they failed to do. On the communal feast day the younger members did not allow B.P. and B.M. to dine with the members which ended in a hand to hand fight. Thus, the members were divided into two groups. At-last, this case was decided in a public meeting in the presence of all members.

BADU NIJOGA

The Badus were the traditional sevakas of the Deity and claim to be the autocthonous of the place. They are a category of non-brahman priest of Lingaraj.

They established a nijoga of their own, when they were harassed by their rival suars in their socio-economic as well as in the sacred context. The exact

date of establishment of this nijoga is unknown due to the non-availability of authentic records. However, the nijoga records are available till 1862. This nijoga was constructed by a fund brought on loan from a local landlord in the year 1851 (27. 6. 1851). The Badus serving the Deity and residing in the two Badu wards were/are the bonafide members of the nijoga. All the members financed individually to the common fund of the nijoga every month to run the organisation. But for the purpose of court cases large sum of money were also raised from among the members to maintain the cases and the allied expenditure.

At first the nijoga was run by a group of elderly members mostly nominated by the members who held office for a period of five years and they were designated as follows : President, Secretary, Treasurer and Executive members. In 1900, there were five members representing the officials of the nijoga. Age, experience and personality played a major role in the selection of the member. Education was not given much importance as it is in 1962.

The meetings of the nijoga were held in the official building where different matters pertaining to the nijoga as well as the representations of the members were considered. For appealing to the nijoga officials, the members do not pay any fee like the Suar nijoga. The members met twice a month to discuss different matters relating to the nijoga. However, a general meeting was also organised once in every year during the sandal festival, to discuss the affairs of the nijoga as well as to select the new office bearers.

In 1962, the nijoga building is in a dilapidated condition and the nijoga office building is in disrepair. The big wooden chests are now inhabited by parrots and the nijoga building is now used by the local youths as a dormitory. This is also used as the rehersal house (Akhala) of the local clubs. A sadhu, also lives here. Therefore, the nijoga meetings are held in the houses of the executive members consisting of three persons. This nijoga for its limited income and expenditure maintains no official staff to look after the office.

The finances of the nijoga, as reveal from the official records centered round few hundreds. The receipts were mainly from the endowed paddy land, collections from sacred services and members acting as pilgrim agents or "Tirtha Pandas". In 1900, the total receipts of the nijoga were Rs. 525.59 paisa whereas the expenditure was Rs. 600/-. This deficit amount was met by a subscription raised from the members. It is noteworthy to state in detail the

different items of receipts from sacred sources. It consisted of the auction of the Paliabadu service and the remunerations from the Endowment office and the auction of the Maricha kunda.[12] The expenses of this nijoga in 1900, consisted of Panti food offering, annual communal feast, court cases and the office expenses etc. In addition to these items, this nijoga financed to the daily worship of the caste goddess "Môhini" located in the. southern bank of the Temple tank Bindusagar and offered sweetend water to the Deities during the Car festival when the Car passed by the nijoga.

In 1962, the receipts of the nijoga have been limited as the income from paddyland has been stopped after the share is now distributed equally among the members. Income from the sacred sources as well as from pilgrim agents have been stopped due to the non-co-operation among the members. However, the auction of the Maricha kunda is still done by the nijoga and this amount is the highest source of income of the nijoga. Therefore, the nijoga income in 1962 is Rs. 1862.84 paisa and the expenditure is Rs. 820.00. Compared to 1900 the receipts are more even though different items of receipts have been cutoff. The main items of expenditure of the nijoga in 1962 are Panti food offering to the Deities and the court cases and the amount in this year comes to Rs. 820/.

The important functions of this council in 1900 may be divided into two halves, the sacred and the secular. The sacred half consisted of Panti foodoffering to Lingaraj and others, daily worship of the caste goddess Mohini, presentation of adhar pana (Sweetend water) to Lingaraj on the Car festival day and to safeguard the rights and duties of the members in the sacred complex. Arrangement of the communal feast, decision of the .cases arising among the members etc. were the notable secular functions of the nijoga.

In 1962, a great change has occurred in the functions of the nijoga. To illustrate the ritual activities have been greatly paralysed as different sacred functions have been ceased. For example the worship of the caste goddess, presentation of the sweetend water, have been stopped since 1950. However, the offering of panti is still in vogue even though the amount spent for the purpose has been reduced in 1962. The worship of the caste goddess is now done by individual members and the funds for the purpose are not met from the nijoga treasury. The annual communal feast is no longer done by the nijoga. Not only in sacred functions but also in secular duties, the traditional

custom has been broken down. For instance : the caste cases (secular ones relating to family) are now decided in the court of law instead of the nijoga. Reasons stated for this is that, the members do not expect impartial judgement from the members.

QUARRELS WITHIN AND BETWEEN NIJOGAS

(i) *Within the nijoga*

The only quarrel occurred within the nijoga in 1928 on the ownership of the Marich kunda[13] tank situated in the Mukteswar temple compound. One member claimed it to be his personal property to which the nijoga objected. However, this was referred to the court of law and the court gave the decree in favour of the nijoga.

This person when filed a case against the nijoga was boycotted by the members at the instruction of the nijoga. However, this family has not yet re-admitted into society till 1962.

(ii) *Between the nijogas*

The only rival of this nijoga in the sacred complex was/is the Suar nijoga with which this nijoga filed several cases. The notable cases have been described in the section on the Suar nijoga.

LINGARAJ SEVAYAT SAMITI

The Temple sevakas specially the leading functionaries were antagonistic to each other till the formation of a new association of all the sevakas called, "Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti" (L.S.S.). After the establishment of the E.C., the Temple was managed with a new corpse of officials as per the provisions of the O.H.R.E. Act. The sevakas in many cases were disturbed by the new enactments. Also, they could not represent their grievances to the Endowment authorities mainly due to their disunity. Two Pujapanda youths therefore, tried to unite all the sevakas, irrespective of their positions in the sacred complex to fight with the Endowment authorities to safeguard their rights in the sacred complex. An interview with the Pujapanda youths, revealed that this association is formed in the pattern of the Puri Jagannath Temple Sevaka Association (Jagannath Sevayat Samiti). The occasion for the formation of such an association came in the minds of

the youths, to compel the authorities unitedly to allot Temple lands to the needy sevakas to accommodate their expanded family.

This association was formed on April 21, 1965, with seventy active members from among the Pujapandas, Suars and the Badus. Though membership was open to all sevakas, none except the three above categories took active interests in the activities of the association However, the association during its existence brought a series of changes in the administrative and ritual setup of the Temple.

The meetings of the nijoga were held in the precinct of the Temple as there was no regular office room of this association. An executive committee was formed consisting of 5 members from among the above categories of sevakas as follows President, Vice-President, 2 Joint Secretaries and 1 Treasurer. These position were taken up by the Pujapanda, Suar and Badu groups. In addition to the above, an advisory committee was also formed to aid and advise the executive members on important issues.

This advisory committee consisted of 14 members of which 3 were pujapandas, 6 suars and 5 badus.

This association in the beginning functioned mostly on the donation of the nijogas (except Kshetrabasi nijoga) as it had no other avenues of income.

Of the main functions of the Association, improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the sevakas was an important goal. It also imparted good leadership to the members to fight with the Endowment authorities and to safeguard the interests of the members in the Temple. At first, the Association moved to the E.C., to allot the vacant Temple lands to the needy sevakas. Because, the existing houses of the sevakas have become over-crowded due to the expansion of the family and separation among the brothers. The requests of the sevakas were ignored by the E.C., when they appealed for extra plot of land against cash payment to the Temple. However, it was allotted to higher officials and men of influence When the E.C., did not care for the requests of the members, a general meeting was summoned by the Association which was attended by the sevakas of all sections. As per the resolutions of this Association, a delegation was sent to meet the then Chief Minister, Minister for Endowments and the local representative to the Legislative Assembly. At last, when their requests were

not granted, it was decided to boycott the Temple rituals. Finally, the E.C., allotted lands to the needy sevakas.

The second major demand of the Association was to increase the daily remuneration of the sevakas working in the ritual round of the Deity. Though, this demand was not effective due to the shortage of funds in the Temple budget, low ranking sevakas, such as Masalaci (torch bearer), Keuta (boat rower), Trisakha torch carrier etc., who did not get any remuneration in kind during festive occasions for their services, were granted khei remuneration for the first time. Further, to improve the quality of the Endowment menu, the executive members kept vigilant eye on the ration supplier who was rumoured to have supplied adultered ration. In several instances, the ration supplier was caught red-handed by the members while supplying adultered materials. The Association informed the E.C., about the malpractices going on the Endowment office.

At the first instance, the Association functioned smoothly due to the co-operation of the members but since 1968 it became defunct due to several reasons. First and the important reason for the downfall is the non-cooperation among the members. For example : the Temple ration supplier who was a leading member did not co-operate with the other members as his employees were caught red-handed by the sevakas while supplying adultered ration to the Great Cook. Thus, factionalism developed in the Association. Another, leading member of the Association was also resigned from his official position in the Association, as he was criticised by the members for forcibly occupying the Temple land without any payment to the Endowment. These two main issues directly paralysed the Association and the young members who were civil servants did not afford much time in the official business of the Association.

An analysis of the foregoing descriptions, the following changes are noteworthy in the nijogas during the period under review. Firstly, members did not care for the nijoga, as the traditional caste customs and the caste elders were frowned upon by the members. Several reasons are responsible for this. According to the survey undertaken by this author, 80 p.c. respondents do not care for the caste leaders and the nijogas as the members act according to their will and are rumoured to be dishonest. Secondly, the traditional punishments etc. of the nijoga do not hold good on the members

in 1962, as commercial barbers and washermen are available in the town after the establishment of the new township. Members working in secular fields do not regard the decisions of the caste elders as they are outside the traditional structure of the society, i.e. they work in the traditional economic structure. Thirdly, factionalism and individualism among the members are responsible for the breakdown of the traditional structural network of the society. Fourthly, the traditional relationship between the nijogas and the Endowment do not hold good since the formation of the O.H.R.E. Commission, therefore this new Association (L.S.S.) came up to protest against the Endowment.

The interview among the Temple servants also revealed that 92 p.c. respondents said that the nijogas in 1962 have lost their former importance for the following reasons: as the caste leaders became dishonest, as proper justice was not given to the members.

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1. The council of pandits, represented by the learned brahmans of the sasan villages. There is an elevated platform in the precinct of Jagannath Temple, called as "Muktimandapa", with 16 pillars in its four corners. These 16 pillars represent the 16 sasan villages located around the Puri town, which sent 16 representatives to this council. None else (except these 16 brahmans) can sit on the Muktimandapa.
2. The common fund of the nijoga.
3. A type of playing card.
4. Drinking water mixed with cowdung was an act of purification.
5. Uncooked food materials such as—sweets and fruits presented to the Deity in basket container.
6. Remunerations of the Pujapandas for offering the cooked food of the suars to the Deity.
7. Paddy was sold to the members before the Sandal festival to meet the expenses of the communal feast.
8. Since child marriage was prevalent in the society, a re-marriage ceremony was observed after the marriage on the day when the marriage was consumated.
9. In 1900, the Temple was ceremonially cleaned by the Sevakas before any raja paid a visit to the Temple. The cost of this cleaning was borne by the rajas concerned. This amount was divided among the priests engaged in the cleaning and the Endowment.

10. A brass image of Krishna is worshipped in the house of a member, the cost of which was borne by the nijoga. During the Dola festival this image was/is worshipped on the Swing altas, and also taken round the suar wards on a float (vimana).
11. Special pujas held in the Kapali Temple during the Durgapuja.
12. The members was selling oil which was the duty of the oil sellers (Teli).
13. A small tank located in the comopund of the Mukteswar Temple. According to tradition, barren women took/take bath in the water of this tank to be blessed with sons.

Chapter Eight

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study aims at discussing the traditional structure and change of a mid-eleventh century Śiva temple in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, built by the Kesaris.

The study is not an historical one, as I have not focussed on the inscriptions and copper plates available on the Lingaraj Temple. I chose essentially that generation in which extensive changes occurred and which can be recaptured from the memory of the elderly people still living. I have utilised the oldest persons associated with the temple and publications relating to the study to determine the base line of 1900 and to assess changes that have occurred by 1962.

The year 1900 is taken as the base line in the study for the following reasons :

(1) Orissa became a separate province in 1936.
(2) The O.H.R.E. Act was passed in 1939.
(3) The new state capital was built close to the sacred town in 1947.
(4) After the last date (1947), other general changes like urbanization, growth of communication and development of education occurred in the town mainly with the establishment of the new township.

1900 was the earliest date at which changes could still be recalled with some precision by living informants.

One of the four sacred places (kshetra) existing in Orissa, according to sacred texts, Bhubaneswar is famous for Lord Lingaraj. It has never occupied the same outstanding position as has the Jagannath Temple complex in Puri. Nevertheless, it has a long cultural and political history. As a sacred place, Bhubaneswar is otherwise called as the "Ekāmra Kshetra". Also, it has been referred to as the "Śāmbhava Bana" (Forest of Śiva) in the sacred literature of the 3rd century B.C. Bhubaneswar has served as a seat of cultural activity intermittently as the political capital of important dynasties for centuries. The Dhauli, Khandagiri and the Udayagiri hills and the site of

Sisupalgarh situated in the vicinity of the sacred town, are extinct reminders of the past greatness.

In 1900, Bhubaneswar was a multi-caste village with a population of about 3,000 most of whom, were temple functionaries. Outsiders visited the place primarily as pilgrims to see Lord Lingaraj on their way to Puri. The local residents and specially the temple-functionaries earned their livelihood mainly from the Temple and its allied avenues. Outside of the state, this place was famous for Lingaraj and its temples. The importance of the town increased after it was selected as a site for the new state capital in 1947. The construction of this new urban centre for administration was accompanied by a growth of population. Its importance and population had increased to the point that it was declared as a sub-division with headquarters at Bhubaneswar on January 26,1950. The sacred town of Bhubaneswar, otherwise called as the "Ekāmra Kshetra" in the sacred literatures covers an area of 10 square miles. The actual settlement clustered round the Lingaraj Temple, whereas the sacred zone covers a far more constricted area. The new town built two miles north of the old temple town lies within the original kshetra. The boundary of the sacred area has still remained unaltered in spite of changes in the township. In 1900, the sacred area consisted of densely clustered Temple town and 16 villages interspersed among paddy fields and tracts of scrub jungle and connected if at all, by bullock tracks. In 1962, the paddy fields are still largely undisturbed but the patches of jungle had been cleared and a growing network of motorable roads had been built and had begun to engulf the modern town with the adjacent villages. The physical appearance of the traditional kshetra has been probably altered from a rural landscape to a burgeoing township.

The Kesari king's who originally built and endowed to the Lingaraj rested the direct administration of the Endowment, in a corps of hereditary officials. Thus, both the Temple functionaries and outsiders were appointed to look after the internal affairs of the Lingaraj Temple. Six such officers constituted the then Pancayat. This Pancayat system of administration in the Endowment reflected the traditional secular administration of the village communities. This delegated administration continued till 1803.

When the British occupied the coastal districts of Orissa in 1803, the intrusion of external authority into the internal management of the Lingaraj Temple and more particularly of Jagannath Temple in Puri began to be felt.

Even, before the accession of the Britishers, mismanagement of both the secular and sacred affairs of the temple had occurred. These disorders were not only confined to Lingaraj Temple but occurred also in many religious endowments. The Potter servants of Lingaraj Temple sold their endowed temple lands and stopped the supply of new earthen pots on their service days. When these mismanagements were brought to the notice of the Britishers, they preferred not to interfere in these religious institutions directly because of their policy of non-interference.

The first set up of legislation passed for the safe management of the religious endowments was in the year 1810. According to the Regulations XIX of the Code of Civil Procedure, the public Hindu religious endowments were placed under the direct control of the Board of Revenue. This Board appointed a "Parichha" or "superintendent" to act as an intermediary between the Board and the Endowment. The administration of the Board was not more effective than the traditional system as most of the members of the Board were all foreigners and knew nothing about the institution. Furthermore, they remained away in different places and were not able to supervise the management either closely or knowledgeably. Therefore, the Act of 1810 was replaced by the Code of Civil Procedure Act XX of 1863 which placed the religious institutions (Endowments) under the direct control of the District Judge. The Lingaraj Endowment, being situated in the district of Puri was placed under the direct control of the District Judge, Puri.

With changes in the administrative set up of the Temple a new group of secular officials were appointed according to the O.H.R.E. Act and the traditional hereditary functionaries (Pancayat, Parakaran) were defunct. But they retained their titles and the per-requisite associated with such offices. In addition to this a corps of persons were appointed to look after the secular administration of the Temple. The Hindu Religious Endowment Act 1863, was provincialised in 1939 when this was found inadequate for the management of the religious institutions. The O.H.R.E. Act 1939, also underwent similar changes in the subsequent years after several amendments.

Many administrative changes occurred in the Temple as a result of these amendments in the O.H R.E. Act 1939. To illustrate: The "Committee of Management" appointed by the District Judge was renamed as the "Board of Trustees" with alteration in their power, functions, activities and also in the

terms of service of the members. Further, when the general provisions of the O.H.R.E. Act 1939 were found insufficient for the management of the institution, a "Scheme" was framed by the state government. This scheme, specified the power, function, terms of office etc. of the members in the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Officer. It also mentioned the methods of framing the annual budget, different items of receipts, expenditures and the approval of the Budget. This scheme came into force from 1952.

Upto 1957, the maintenance and repairings of the Temple were looked after by the Endowment itself and the funds for such work were collected mainly from public donations. When the Endowment and the public gifts failed io finance the maintenance of the Temple, this responsibility was made over to the A.S.O.I. in the month of February 1958, as per the A.M.P. Act 1904. With this another secular organisation (ASOI) entered into the affairs of the Temple.

According to the tradition 360 households were required to perform the different services of the Deity in the daily and the annual ritual round of the Deity. In the daily rituals 36 different persons were engaged who were reimbursed either in cash or kind or both by the Endowment. Among the 25 categories of Temple Servants 20 were called as "Sevakas" (Servants) whereas the others were known as the "Kalabethias" (Lit. Black free labourers). Generally the Badhei, Kamar, Palinki apata (Gauda), Viman apata (Casa), Keuta etc. were termed as such as they were paid only their wages on their service days locally known as "Bodia". These 25 different caste categories lived in separate hamlets (Sahi) in the vicinity of the Temple and were related to each other both in the sacred and social spheres. For instance the Kshetrabasis acted as priests to the other functionaries excepting the scheduled castes, the Greatcooks supplied cooked food to the sevakas according to their demand, washerman cleaned the clothes, barber shaved the head and beard of the clean caste functionaries. Thus, a jejmani relationship existed among them. The Temple Sevakas were given tax free house plot, paddy lands etc., as emolument in addition to their daily or annual payment in cash or kind. They were also permitted to peddle their goods in the Temple town free of charge. Some services also entailed free paddy lands. The three main groups of sevakas, such as, the Suars, Pujapandas and the Badus in addition to their Temple duties also served the pilgrims of their

jejmani estates as sacred pandas, who visited the Temple. This occupation provided a lucrative source of income.

In 1900, caste solidarity was very strong among the different categories of Temple Servants and the traditional rules and regulations were strongly observed in the Temple community. Caste rivalries mainly basing on the Temple existed among these three leading priestly specialists. All the caste categories serving the Deity had their respective caste associations called the "Nijoga" and the "Jatiana Sabha". The former referred to the caste association of the brahman functionaries whereas latter referred to the non-brahman sevakas. However, the caste association of the Badus (a non-brahman functionary) was also called as "Nijoga" as they were considered as one of the principal sevakas of the Deity. The officers of the Nijoga were elected every year and their term of office was for a specific period of time, whereas in the "Jatiana Sabha" the position of the officials were hereditary. The Nijoga officials were consulted by the Temple administration in serious matters pertaining to the internal management of the Temple. These caste associations whether "Nijoga" or "Jatiana Sabha" functioned not only to enforce internal discipline but also to prosecute inter-caste and intra-caste quarrels. Inter-marriage and commensality were frowned upon and were severely dealt with by the caste elders.

When the princely states merged to form the present Orissa in 1947 the rajas became mere pensioners. They were no longer able to endow the Temple with land, cash and treasures as they did in the past. The monastery heads, like the rajas also supported the Temple and presented food offerings in large quantity on festive as well as on ordinary days. But with the introduction of the O.H.R.E. Act 1939, the monasteries were controlled and maintained as per this Act. The monastery were granted a specified sum of money for their maintenance. The finances of the monasteries were budgeted as a result of which the food offerings to Lingaraj in different occasions were reduced in 1962 and stopped in many cases. Thus, a steady deterioration in gifts and services to the Deity was set in. The garland makers and the weavers residing in the landed estate of the Deity stopped the supply of garlands and threads to be used for the Deity on different suspicious occasions with the abolition of the zemindari system in the state.

After the establishment of the new capital, three miles north-west of the traditional sacred town in 1947, many new opportunities were opened.

The new jobs in the capital offered increased income at the same time. The general inflationary trend of the economy dismissed the real value of traditional Temple remunerations. The rent free house plots were an exception, since the need for housing and the sky rocketting land values accompanied with the growth of the new town increased. Secular employment yielded more income than those of the Temple. For those part of the younger generation who were educated and could enter into the civil service, prestige as well as increased income accrued to them for such secular occupations. In other respects also, the basic economy of the temple servants changed with the establishment of the new township. The opening of roads and other means of communication furthered the process. In case of the non-brahman servants the traditional occupations such as cloth washing, milk selling, barbering and even wage labour etc. found good cliental in the new town compared to the old Temple town. It should also be noted here that the traditional remuneration for such services was much less in the old town, therefore the washermen, barbers etc. paid much attention to the residents in the new town, neglecting their hereditary patrons. Hence, there was a breakdown in the traditional jejmani relationship which existed in the social system of the Temple Community. This relationship broke down in favour of commercialised ones which were more profitable. As the younger generations of the priestly specialists were gradually attracted by the secular occupations in the new town, there was a shortage of priests in the Temple. Hence, the number of proxies increased in the ritual round of the Deity. The chief incentive to maintain one's duties in the Temple was to retain one's rent free house plots and agricultural lands and the other privileges. Many hereditary officials have slighted their duties and in some cases have even stopped performing services in the sacred complex since the Endowment authorities have been lax in dispossessing servants who neglect their hereditary duties. The new secular engagements of the Temple priests have also reduced the time for the worship of the deities. As a result the ritual performances have been slighted.

Rise in the cost of living has forced the Temple servants to seek alternative and secular sources of livelihood as money has became increasingly a measure of prestige, status and power. Simultaneously, the rapacity of those who remained as pilgrim guides and were trying to meet the new economic necessities from traditional occupations led to a gradual shift of esteem by

pilgrims and devotees to their guides or pandas. Pandas began to be seen as exploitative. Many visitors to the Temple felt free to dispense with their secular services such as providing lodging and food. The status of the priests therefore, declined not only because of competing status provided by the new capital but also by a withdrawal of esteem on the part of the traditional clients. The priestly class was caught between the scylla of the new alternative economic and social opportunities and the charybdis of declining traditional earnings and prestige. The retreat from sacred services has not only economic but also status implications.

With this change in the Temple organisation the physical assets of the Endowment have not increased and in fact may have even decreased through illegal alienation of hereditary landholdings. However, the financial value of the Temple lands has increased considerably over time, due to the sky rocketting land values and the need for housing and the growth of commercial enterprise to serve the increased population.

During the years under discussion there have been changes in the number of temple servants as well as officers of the Endowment establishment. The Astrologer Sevak has been irregular since 1955, the position of the Telenga musician has fallen vacant for the lack of a suitable replacement, the post of the Torch bearer has been abolished after the electrification in the Temple in 1957. The Washerman sevak like the Astrologer performs his duties irregularly.

All these factors have resulted in new orientation among the Temple priests. For example, a Samartha sevak has become a mason, brahmans civil servant, Bauris have taken to rickshaw pulling, orchestral music and shop keeping. In matters of status most of the categories of Temple servants have experienced a curious anomaly. To illustrate : the Badus have struggled during the last decade to prove themselves brahmans. Inter-marriage and inter-dinning are not frowned upon in 1962, as the caste associations have become defunct. Further, engagement in the secular services in the new town has loosened the caste solidarity. The caste associations have become lax in awarding punishments to the erring members. The modern amenities and facilities like barber saloon and laundries have helped such activities, because due to these amenities the traditional punishment (Eka gharikia) does not hold good. Varied economic opportunities of the members have lost their

interest in the caste association. As a result the nijogas have become paralysed and fail to perform their duties properly. Inter-caste rivalries exemplified by nijogas, have collapsed (at least, organisationally, if not inter-personally) and have been replaced by a consolidation of the sevakas in the Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti, as an expression of the consolidation of self interest of the traditional groups in opposition to new alternatives. Changes in this case study, at least, represent not only a gradual defection of individuals but also a consolidation of traditional interests in the face of modern erosions.

The traditional practices and procedures followed in the Temple rituals are not properly observed in the Temple.

The all-India move to ameliorate the stringencies of caste structure have been felt particularly strongly in the Lingaraj complex because of the new township. Examples of this diminishing strength of caste particularly under-lined in Chapter VI. Caste rivalries among the top ranking Temple func-tionaries (Pujapanda, Suar and Badu) were more frequent in 1900 which has been lessened after the establishment of the all priest association (Lingaraj Sevayat Samiti) to putforth their grievances to the Endowment authorities. Demand for increased remuneration to the sevakas as well as the distribu-tion of more houseplots to accommodate the growing families of the priests.

In sum, with the above changes in the traditional structure of the Lingaraj Temple complex the process is still in action and has not yet ceased to function.

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APPENDICES

LIST OF PROTECTED MONUMENTS UNDER THE CONTROL OF A S.O.I.

1. Lingaraj Temple and all the minor shrines in the Temple Compound
2. Anantavasudev Temple
3. Markandeswar Temple
4. Parsurameswar Temple
5. Rajarani Temple
6. Megheswar Temple with all its minor shrines
7. Bhaskareswar Temple
8. Brahmeswar Temple with its minor shrines
9. Rameswar Temple
10. Siddheswar Temple
11. Nabaksore Temple
12. Yameswar Temple
13. Boital Temple
14. Mukteswar with all minor shrines except Marica Kunda
15. Makreswar Temple with its minor shrines
16. Maitreswar Temple
17. Sari Temple
18. Chitrakarini Temple
19. Sahasralinga Tank and Temple
20. Bakeswar Temple

Source :—
Junior Archaeological Chemist
A.S.O.I., Eastern Circle,
Bhubaneswar

II
STAFF OF E. C. Office, Cuttack (1963)

Permanent Positions

1. Endowment Commissioner (1) [Class I-Gazetted]
2. Assistant Commissioner (1) [Class II-Gazetted]
3. Secretary (1) [Non-Gazetted]
4. Head Assistant (1) [Class III]
5. Accountant (1)
6. Grade I Assistant (2)
7. Grade II Assistant (2)
8. Lower Division Assistant (8)
9. Diarist (1)
10. Despatcher (1)
11. Typist (1)
12. Copist (2)
13. Grade I Steno (1)
14. Senior Inspector (15)
15. Treasury Sircar (1) [Class IV]
16. Daftary (1)
17. Watcher (1)
18. Orderly Peon (4)
19. Office Peon (18)

Temporary Positions

20. Inspector (1)
21. Senior Auditor (2)
22. Junior Auditor (2)
23. Office Peon (2)
24. Grade III Steno (1)

Temporary Positions for one year

25. Grade I Assistant (1)
26. Grade II Assistant (1)
27. Lower Division Assistant (2)

28. Inspector (4)
29. Additional Assistant Commissioner (1) [Class II Gazetted]

[There are 6211 temples and 275 monasteries under the control of the O.H.R E.C., Orissa]

Source :—
Secretary to the E. C., Orissa.

III

SCHEME OF THE LINGARAJ TEMPLE

[Order No. 463]

In the matter of Sri Lord Lingaraj Temple at Bhubaneswar, P.O. Bhubaneswar, district Puri.

This matter having common for final disposal before the Commissioner of Endowments, Orissa and the associate officers appointed by the provincial government in this behalf are satisfied that the Temple of Sri Lord Lingaraj with its endowments can not be effectively managed under the general provisions of the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act IV of 1939, they after consulting the trustees and the persons having interest in the institution hereby settle the following "Scheme" of administration under section 33 of the Act.

1. The Scheme shall come into force atonce.
2. In the Scheme if not inconsistent with the contexts of the Act means the Orissa Act of 1939, as amended from time to time, the word, "net income", means the income remaining for expenditure after payment of zemindary, government and other public dues as : contribution, audit charges, and if there are any loans payable 15 p.c. of the same and all other words and expressions used here in shall have the respective meanings assigned to them in the Act.
3. The said Temple with its endowments shall be administered by a Board of Trustees not exceeding five in number to be appointed by the Commissioner who shall hold office for such a period not exceeding five years as may be fixed by him.

4. The Board of Trustees shall be a body corporate and all suits and proceedings by or against the said board shall be conducted in the name of an Executive Officer on behalf of the said Board.
5. The Commissioner may remove any of the member of the Board at any time without assigning any reason, if finds it necessary in the interest of the institution and record a proceeding to that effect.
6. Any vacancy or vacancies occurring in the office of any of the trustees during or at the end of the said or subsequent period shall be filled up by the Commissioner.
7. The members in the Board shall elect a President from among themselves.
8. Every meeting of the Board shall be presided over by the President.
9. In his absence a member chosen in the meeting to preside over the function.

9 (a). The meetings of the Board shall be convened by the President on giving adequate notice to the other members.

(b) If the President fails to convene a meeting of the Board for three consecutive months from the date of the last meeting atleast two members of the Board may convene the meeting by giving adequate notice to the other members.

(c) The quorum for a meeting of the Board shall be ordinarily three.

10. The Board shall meet atleast once a month within the premises of the institution for passing the accounts of the previous month and for sanctioning the necessary expenditure and for considering any other matter connected with the management of the institution.
11. All questions arising in a meeting of the Board shall be decided by majority of votes of the members present there and in every case of equality of votes, the President or the person presiding shall have and exercise a casting vote.
12. The proceedings of the meeting shall be recorded in a book to be kept for the purpose and shall be signed by all members present, copies of the resolution shall be sent to the Commissioner for approval.
13. The subject of the provisions of this scheme and to the control of the Board the Executive officer shall manage the properties and affairs of

the Temple and arrange for the conduct of the daily worship, ceremonies and festivals of the temple according to the usage.

14. (a) The Executive officer shall be appointed by the Commissioner.

(b) The Commissioner may remove, suspend, dismiss or fine the Executive officer for neglect of duty, breach of peace, breach of trust, incapacity, misconduct, disobedience of lawful orders or other sufficient causes.

(c) The Executive officer shall be a wholetime officer of the Temple and shall not undertake any work unconnected with his office without the permission of the Commissioner.

(d) He shall be paid out of the funds of the Temple, such as salary, as may from time to time fixed by the state government.

(e) He shall furnish a cash security as may be fixed by the Endowment Commissioner.

15. The Executive Officer shall be responsible for the custody of all records and properties including cash and valuables of the Temple and shall arrange for the proper collection of the offerings made in or at the Temple.

16. Subject to the approval of the Board and the Endowment Commissioner.

(a) May lease out the lands and buildings of the Temple which are ordinarily leased out.

(b) May call forward for works or supplies and accept such tenders.

(c) May, in case of emergency direct the execution of any work or the doing of any act which is not provided for in the Budget for the year or in the proceedings of the meetings and the immediate execution or doing of what is in his opinion necessary for the preservation of the properties of the Temple or for the service or for the safety of the pilgrims resorting to the Temple or for the due discharge of the Seva and Puja of the deities in the Temple and may direct that the expenses of executing such works or doing the act shall be paid from the funds of the Temple.

17. The Executive officer may make temporary provision if and when necessary for crrrying on of the deities of a hereditary office if they are not executed by such office holder either wilfully or due to his

death or absence. The matter shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting.

18. (a) The Executive Officer may fine, reduce, suspend, remove or dismiss any non-hereditary servant of the Temple for the neglect of duty, breach of discipline, carelessness or other misconduct.

(b) The servant so punished may appeal to the Endowment Commissioner within a week of the date of communication of the order of punishment and the Endowment Commissioner's decision shall be final.

19. The Board may fine, suspend, remove or dismiss any of the hereditary office holders and servants including the Sevakas for breach of trust, incapacity, disobedience, of lawful order, neglect of duty, misconduct or other sufficient cause.

20, The Board shall take necessary steps to recover the Temple lands from whosoever in possession thereof, free from all encumbrances created by them or any persons claiming under them, if necessary, by filling suits after obtaining the previous sanction of the Commissioner.

21. The expenditure to be incurred on daily services and festivals shall be in accordance with a dittam (the scale of expenditure) which shall be prepared and submitted for the approval of the Commissioner.

22. If the dittam for the time being in force exceeds 60 p.c. of the net income of the institution it shall be modified in accordance with Section 31 of the Act.

23. The Establishment charges shall not exceed 20 p.c. of the net income of the institution without the previous sanction of the Commissioner should present charges exceed the same limit, they should be at once retrenched.

24 (a) The Executive Officer shall in every year prepare in the prescribed form budget estimate of the receipt and expenditure of the Temple for the following year and place it before the Board who may furnish it to the Commissioner with the recommendations if any for approval.

(b) Copies of the Budget as recommended by the Board shall be

sent to the Commissioner before two months preceding the last month, of the fasli year.

25. The Budget shall provide for a sum of not less then 5 p.c. of the net income of the institution for the purposes of effecting petty repairs and whitewashing annually and equal sum of 5 p.c. to be set apart for charity.

26. The Budget shall provide for a sum of 5 p.c. to be set apart as a reserve fund to be utilised for any capital construction with the approval of the Commissioner.

27. The balance of 5 p.c. shall be kept as Reserve Fund for meeting any unforeseen liabilities.

28. The Board shall on or before the 31st August in each year submit to the Commissioner an income return for the purpose of assessment of contribution.

29. The Board shall also submit to the Commissioner a Register of Endowments as required under Section 12 of the Act.

30. (a) The Board shall prepare after enquiry a list of all specific endowments of Shri Lord Lingaraj Temple with particulars as to the name of the Donor, the name of the Trustees, the object of the grant, its date and other elevantfade.

(b) The Board shall supervise the administration of all the specific endowments through its Executive Officer who shall bring to its notice of the Board all cases of deliquency promptly for necessary action.

31. By the first November in each year the Board shall submit to the Commissioner a report of the administration of the institution and the endowments during the preceding years briefly indicating the improvements effected to the institution its financial position.

32. The accounts of the institution shall be audited every year by an approved auditor appointed by the Commissioner for the purpose.

33. The Board may delegate to the Executive Officer such of it powers, duties or functions as may be provided by the Act and rules made thereunder.

34. If for any reason the Board does not properly function the Executive Officer shall manage the institution under the instruction of the Commissioner.

35. The President of the Board shall take upon himself the functions of the Executive Officer if the later is absence either on leave or otherwise.
36. All offerings in cash or kind or livestock and to Sri Sarala Thakurani shall form the part of the Endowment of Shri Sarala Thakurani and the Board shall possess of the same.
37. In the management of the affairs of the institution the preparation and submission of the dittam (scale of expenditure) and the annual budget the maintenance of the accounts, the investment of the surplus funds, the incurring of loans and clienation of the lands of the institution, the Board shall be bound by the provisions of the Act, the rules made or deemed to be made thereunder and all such lawful directions as may be issued by the Commissioner from time to time.
38. Save in so far as expressly provided there in the Board of Trustees shall have all the duties provided by the said Act and Rules made thereunder.
39. Any doubt of the aforesaid provisions of the Scheme shall be decided by the Commissioner and such decision shall be final.

Sd. B. Mohanty Sd. B. C. Patnaik
(Officers appointed by the Government)

Sd. P. C. Das
Commissioner of Endowments

IV

AGREEMENT WITH THE A.S.O.I.

This indenture made this day of 10th February, 1958 between the Trustees of the Temple through Madanmohan Harichandan Mahapatra, aged 63, President, Trustee Board of Lord Lingaraj Mahaprabhu, Bhubaneswar, s/o Late Dibyasingha Harichandan Mahapatra of Balianta, P. S. Kothadesh, Dt. Puri, Khetriya, ex-proprietor (herein referred to on their own behalf and when the contexts so requires on behalf also of the successors, executors, administrators, representatives and assigns as the trustees) of the one part

and the President of the Indian Union (hereinafter referred to on behalf of himself, his successor in office and assigns as the President (acting in these presents through the Superintendent of Archaeology for the Eastern Circle, Calcutta (hereinafter called the said Superintendent) of other part

Whereas the Monuments described in the scheduled hereto (hereinafter referred to as the said monuments) have been duly declared to be protected monuments under Provisions of Section 3 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, VII of 1904 (hereinafter referred to as the said Act) by the Notification No. 578E dated 8th April, 1913 confirmed by Notification No. 2488E, dated, the 1st November 1913 read with Notification No. 1730E, dated, 10th October, 1918 of the Government of Bihar and Orissa in respect of the Rajarani Temple, by Notification No. D469/AR/46, dated, 28th June, 1946 of the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, in respect of the Markandeswar Temple and by Notification No. 4-1(2)/45 F and L dated 18th June 1945 of the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, confirmed by Notification No. D569/AR/46, dated, 30th May, 1946 of the Department of Education, Government of India, (hereinafter referred to as the Central Government), in respect of the other monuments mentioned in the scheduled hereto.

NOW THESE PRESENTS WITNESS that in consideration of the mutual benefits and covenants hereinafter contained the Trustees and the President do hereby mutually covenant and agree each with the other that is to say

1. That the said monuments shall be maintained in repair by President through the Department of Archaeology of the Central Government PROVIDED ALWAYS that the said Department shall determine what repairs, if any, shall, from time to time, be carried out.
2. That the said Superintendent shall be the custodian of the said monuments.
3. That the Trustees shall not undertake any repairs to the said monuments without obtaining the previous sanction in writings of the said Superintendent.
4. That the Trustees shall not destroy, remove alter, deface or imperil the said monuments.
5. That the Trustees shall not build on or near the sites of the said

monuments or cultivate the sites or any part thereof without obtaining the previous permission in writing of the said Superintendent PROVIDED that the Trustees shall have power to permit temporary sheds to be put up in the space between the compound walls and the adjoining road only during festivals with permission of the Commissioner of Hindu Religious Endowments of Orissa State Government (hereinafter referred to as the said Commissioner) with prior intimation to the said Superintendent.

(But such of the said monuments as are used for religious worship shall continue to be used as heretofore for religious worship and such observances shall not in any way be affected by this agreement).

6. That the public shall have free access to the said monuments subject to the following restrictions :
   - (a) That no non-Hindu shall be allowed to enter inside any of the said monuments, which is used for religious worship.
   - (b) That no shoes and leather articles shall be taken inside the compound walls of any of the said monuments which is used for religious worship.
7. That the said Superintendent or such other person or persons as he may depute for the purpose shall be permitted to inspect the said monuments at all reasonable times.
8. That the Trustees with the written approval of the said Commissioner may terminate this agreement on giving six months previous notice to the said Superintendent and the President may terminate with one month's previous notice to the Trustees and also to the said Commissioner if the Trustees failed to comply with any condition of this agreement PROVIDED ALWAYS that the Trustees shall in such cases be liable to pay to the President on demand (should the President so claim) all the expenses incurred by him in the repairing, restoring or maintaining the said monuments during the five years previous to the termination of this agreement or during such part thereof as the agreement may have been in force.
9. That the President may terminate this agreement on giving six month's notice in which case the Trustees shall not (except as aforesaid) be held responsible for any sums previously extended by the President on the repair of the said monuments.

10. That the Trustees with the written approval of the said Commissioner shall give the Director General of Archaeology on behalf of the President six months previous notice in writing if the said monuments or any portions thereof are to be offered to sale.

11. That the right shall be reserved and is hereby given to the President to purchase at their market value, the said monuments or any portions thereof in the event of their being offered for sale by the Trustees.

12. That while this agreement is in force the Trustees shall not alienate or hypothecate or charge or burden the monuments or any portions thereof of the land on which they stand or remove any movable property appertaining to the said monuments PROVIDED ALWAYS that this shall not apply to the jewellery and articles of use of the deities if any.

13. That the Trustees shall remove within six month's all structures between the compound wall of the Lingaraj Temple and the adjacent roads with the exception of the masonrary platform to the right of the northern gate and the six roomed building on the eastern side which in no case shall be subject to any further additions.

14. That the Trustees shall not lease out any land or erect or have erected any permanent or temporary constructions on any land belonging to Lingaraj Mahaprabhu between its compound walls and the adjacent roads. In case of the rest of the monuments mentioned in the schedule the Trustees shall not lease out or erected or have erected any permanent or temporary constructions on any land belonging to Lingaraj Mahaprabhu within a distance of five hundred feet from the outer boundary of the said monuments.

15. That in the case of such of the said monuments as are used for religious worship the leaves, flowers etc. offered by worshippers and thrown inside such monuments leaving of the Bhoga sold to and partaken of by worshippers and kitchen refuse such as ashes, peals, of vegetables, etc., thrown inside the compound, shall be arranged to be removed by the Trustees, who shall also be responsible for keeping the premises of such monuments clean and tidy.

16. That if any of the said monuments is fitted with electrical installa-

tions the Trustees shall be responsible for the recurring and non-recurring expenditure on the maintenance and repairs to the said electric installations and for the electric charges.

17. That except as herein expressly provided each of the parties hereto shall in relation to the said monuments have all the rights and be subject to all the duties and liabilities conferred or imposed by said Act.

18. That any dispute arising out of this agreement shall be referred to the Collector of Puri and his decision shall be final.

19. It is hereby agreed that the stamp duty chargeable on this agreement shall be payable by the President of India.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF THE parties hereto have put their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Sd/ D. Mitra,
Superintendent
Department of Archaeology
Eastern Circle
32 Chittaranjan Avenue
Calcutta-12

Sd/ Madanmohan Harichandan
Mahapatra,
President of the Board Trustees,
Lord Lingaraj Mahaprabhu
Bhubaneswar.

Signed in my presence
Sd/ Illegible.

V

SERVICES, SERVANTS AND THEIR TOTAL REMUNERATION IN THE DAILY CYCLE OF LINGARAJ

Sl. No.	Name of the Services	Servants	Nature of duties	Total remineration for the day.
1.	2	3	4	5
1.	PALIA BADU	BADU	Bathes, cloths, gives wood apple leaves to the Deity. Bathes asperages the lingms in the temple compound.	50 p.c. of the gift (Bheti) received in the temple near the deity. Khei.—3 Annagula—1 Rice—1 pot Tuna—1/2 pot Gula—1 Since 1959 they get 50 p c. of the Bheti collection. In 1900 they received only 20 p.c.
2.	FARAKA	BADU	Guards the inner sanctum of the Temple.	Nadu—One
3.	KHATA SEJA	BADU	Arranges the bed of the Deily after the Badasinhar food offering and before the final closing of the temple.	Khei—One
4.	POCHHA	BADU	After the Deity is bathed before the last food offering, he cleans floor of the cella and the Deity.	Khei—One
5.	PAHADA	BADU	Screens the main entrance of the cella at the time of food offering.	Nil
6.	PUJAPANDA	PUJAPANDA	Performs the oblation fire (Homa) in the joint kitchen. Worships and present the food to the Deity.	Dahi—1/2 Kudua Gala Anna—1 Kudua Enduli—2 pieces Saga—A little Khichudi—One gula Anna—1/2 pot Dal—1/4 pot Kakera—One Khei—One Nadu—One
7.	PATRI	SUARA	Arranges all the materials required for the offerings.	Khei—One Anna Gula—Two

1	2	3	4	5
8.	PANTI BADU	SUARA	Decorates the place of offering in powdered rice, gives spices etc on the food cooked for the Deity. Guards the place of offering untill the Puja Panda comes after everything is ready for the offering.	Khei—One
9.	GARABADU	SUARA (with Garabadu surname)	Supplies water to the Puja Panda at the time of offerings. He gives the wooden seat (Pidha) to the Puja Panda before the food offering.	Khei—One
10	HADAPA NAIK	SUARA	Prepares betel (Bidia) of the Deity. Keeps a cup of scented water (Ghasajala) near the Deity.	Khei—One
11.	BHITARA KHUNTIA	SUARA	Keeps guard at the main entrance to the Deity during the offerings. Prevents people from entering before and when the ceremony is in progress.	Khei—One
12.	DHOPAKHALA	SUARA	Before cooking begins in the joint kitchen (Kotha Rosa), he sprinkles water mixed with cow dung, water mixed with lime, and ordinary water inside the kitchen, after cleaning the ashes from the ovens.	Khei—One Deulia—3 Kudua—3
13.	CANGADA	SUARA	Supplies washed clothes folded in a special manner to the Deity. Gives all the used clothes of the Deity to the washerman to clean it and when the washerman returned the cloth after cleaning he spreads those in the sun to be dried up.	Khei—One Anna Gula—One
14.	CHHATA	SUARA	Holds the white umbrella at the time of certain offerings. (This is a sign of royal insignia) There are 2 umbrellas (Chhata) in the temple for the Deity (i) white Umbrella, (ii) Black Umbrella.	Khei—One

2	3	4	5
TRASA	SUARA	He holds the leaf shaped royal insignia at the time of the morning and evening food offerings.	Khei—One
PASUPALAKA	SUARA	Bathes the deputies of the main deities of the Temple and gives flowers, sandle wood paste etc. Remains in charge of the deities. (The deities are in a temple attached to the southern entrance to the inner chamber, called Dakhin Ghar).	All the gifts received from the piligrims. Khei—One
PUSPANJALI	SUARA	Afer the last food offering (Badasinghar) he supplies flowers to the offerand, to be given to the deputy of Panchapatra Mahadev.	Khei—One
MAHASUARA	SUARA	Cooks the Endowment menu every day. Takes the cooked food from the kitchen to the place of offering.	Hanskuli—One Enduli—1/2 piece Khichudi—1 plate Puli—1 no. Enduli—3 nos. Dali—1 Oli Khichudi—1 Sara Kakara—One Tipuri—One Nadi—One Khiri—1 Kudua Nadu—3 Pakhala—1 Kudua Arisa—5 Kharachura—2 Nadu—3 Bhaja—1 Sara
PARVATI	SUARA	Bathes, clothes and gives flowers, Sandle paste to goddess Parvati.	Gifts presented to Parvati by the pilgrims. Kanti—One Anna Gula—One
GOPALUNI	BADU	Bathes, clothes and gives sandle paste etc. to Gopaluni	Gifts presented to Gopaluni by the pilgrims. Khei—One

1	2	3	4	5
21.	MEKAPĀ	SUARA (Surname Mekapa)	Temple store keeper. Supplies the materials, like clothes, ornaments of the deities to the concerned Sevakas on duty whenever required.	Free paddy lands.
22.	CARĀCAITA	PUJAPANDA SUARA BADI 10 days fo. each group	Supervises all the services etc. in the temple. Distributes the food offerings to the Sevakas. Deposits the Bheti in the Temple office (Since the Pujapandas have left this service now it is being done by the Badu and Suara groups).	2 annas per rupee commission from the Bheti collection deposited in the Temple Office. Khiri—One Kudas Khei—One Gala Anna—One
23.	AKHANDA	SUARA	Lights the lamp, pours oil in the lamp and tends the wick if it burns slowly in the cella.	Khei—2 Anna—One Khichudi—3 balls.
24.	KOTHA BHOGA BISOYI	Any man Any caste. Now a Suara.	Supplies the daily ration of the deity against cash payment.	Gets money from the temple office for the materials supplied.
25.	GUDIA	SUDRA (Confectioner) Gudia	Supplies Ukhuda and Guda kora every day for the Ballav offering.	Rs. 80.00 per annum.
26.	MASALA	PUTULI-BANIA	Supplies materials for the Bidia preparation.	3 pices per day.
27,	ROSA PAIKA	SAMARTHA	Cleans the court yard of the kitchen. Cleans the utensils of the joint kitchen.	Khei—1 Puli—1 Enduli—1
28.	GHĀNTA	SAMARTHA	Beats the Gong to announce the food offerings.	Puli—1
29.	SAMARTHA	SAMARTHA	Grinds rice and gram, supplies water to the great Cook on duty.	Khei—1 Nadu—1 Kakera—1 Khichudi—2 balls Enduli—1
30.	MADALA	SAMARTHA	Beats the small drum at the time of offerings.	Puli—1
31.	JĀUTISA	ASTRO-LODGER	Reads the alamnac daily, near the deity and announces the festivals and auspicious days of the deity. Bits the bell (Ghanta) on the Car.	Nadu—1 daily (for 20 days) 20 per month.

1	2	3	4	5
32.	TELENGA	TELENGA MUSICIAN	Plays the south Indian orchestral music during food offerings.	Rs. 7.00 per month
33.	KAHALIA	SUDRA	Blows the trumpet to announce the morning and evening food offerings.	Rs. 8.00 per month.
34.	DHOBA	WASHERMAN (Sudra)	Washes the used clothes of the Deity.	6 annas per month.
35.	MASALACI	BARBER (Sudra)	Holds the torch (Masala) in the audience hall (Jagamohan) at night.	0-2-9 pies per month.
36.	KUMBHARA	POTTER (Sudra)	Supplies new earthen pots, vessels daily in turn as follows : Serikia—6 Nos. Mathia—4 nos. Disirla, Dohari — 10 nos. Caka—4 nos. Kudua—24 nos. Oil—8 nos. Sana Sara—8 nos. Bada Sara—4 nos. Bada Palama—3 nos. Also supplises the extra earthen wares during festive occasions like Satapuri Sivaratri etc.	Free paddy lands, Khei and new clothes on important festive days like Satapuri, Kanya Sankranti etc.

VI

TABLE SHOWING THE DAILY FOOD OFFERINGS IN LINGARAJ

Sl.	Time 1900	Time 1962	Name of the rituals	Servants required 1900	Servants required 1962	Amount of food offerings 1900	Amount of food offerings 1962	Recipients	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	8 A.M.	11 A.M. or 2 P.M.	Homa (oblation fire)	Pujapanda Mahasuar	Same	1 chhataka cow's ghee and some pieces of mango wood	One tola Daldaghee pieces of ordinary wood	—	It is customary that cooking in the temple will start after the oblation fire is over. But in 1962 no such restriction is observed. Even before the oblation fire cooking starts in the Temple Kitchen.
2.	8.30 A.M.	12.15 P.M.	Magha Snana or Mahasnana (Great bathing)	Pujapanda Palia Badu Patri Characheit	Same	Five nectars weighing 1/4th seer was required (Mixture of Ghee, Milk, Gur, honey, raw sugar)	Mixture of these 5 things weighing about 1 or 2 tolas.	—	Pure ghee, milk etc. were used to prepare the Pancamruta. In 1962 all impure ghee, milk etc. are used to prepare the mixture.
3.	10 P.M.	1 P.M.	Sun worship (Surya Puja)	Pujapanda Patri Palia Badu Caracaita	Same	1/2 of a ripe banana or a Raw sugar candy	Same	Pujapanda 1/2 Patri Paliabadu 1/2	Now the pujapanda takes all the food offerings.
4.	11 A.M.	1-30 P.M.	Doorkeeper worship (Dwarapala Puja)	Pujapanda Patri Palia Badu Caracaita	Same	1/2 ripe banana.	Same	Pujapanda Patri Palia Badu	Pujapanda takes the whole offerings in 1962.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5.	12 P.M.	2 P.M.	Ballava (Breakfast)	Palia Badu Patri Panti Badu Pujapanda Hadapnaik Garabadu Caracaita Gudia	Palia Badu Patri Puja- panda Gudia Cara- caita.	Khei-2 olis. Dahi-2 olis. Gurkora- 4 nos. Quantity of Khai 3 chhatakas and Dahi 1/4 seer.	Khai-2 Olis (inferior qualities) weighing 1/2 chhatakas Dahi-1 Tola	Pujapanda 1/2 Oli Dahi. Patri-1 Oli khai. Paliabadu-1 Oli khai Gudia-4 Gur kora	In 1962 the Gur koras are taken by other Sevakas as the Gudia does not take it.
6.	12.30 P.M	2.15 P.M.	Bhubaneswari's Ballava (Gopa- lini's breakfast).	Pujapanda Patri	Same	Khai-One sara. Dahi-One Oli.	Same	Akhanda Sevaka	In 1962 the quality of khai is not as 1900. Instead of pure curd, only a little curd water is offered, as pure curd is not supplied by the Gauda.
7.	1 P.M.	3 P.M.	Morning offering (Sakala Dhupa)	Caracaita Garabadu Pujapanda Patri Harapanaik Bhitar- khuntia Patri Badu Mahasuar Ghantua Parvatisevaka Chhata Trasa Kahalia	Caracaita Patri Pujapanda Paliabadu Mahasuar Ghantua Kahalia	Khichudi- 1/2 seer rice. Mungdal- 1/8th seer. Enduli-5 pieces Puli-3 nos. (2 big, 1 small) Hansa- kuli 1 sara. Kadamba 1 Oli Gala Anna-9 Oli Kanti—1 Saga 1 Sara Ada | 1 Sara Luna | Ghasajala 1 Oli.	Everything same quality and quantity except Saga, Ada. No ghasa-jala is offered.	Patri-2 Gula- khichudi, One Gula anna. San- karananda Math—1 Gula anna. Akhanda- Kanti one 4 Gula anna, Kadamba. Endowment-2 1/2 Enduli, 1 Gula anna. Cala anna. Pujapanda- One gula anna, 1 piece Enduli,	Amount of rice has decreased. Dalda Vanaspati is used instead of pure cow's ghee in the Kitchen. Sankarananda Matha takes the Gula anna of the Puja-pandas. In 1962 these Gula annas are taken by other Sevakas. The temple cara- told me that they are not giving it to the Math, as they found that the abbot is giving those Gula Anna to the dog thinking it to be of inferior quality. So he has stopped giving it to the Math. In 1962 in the absence of the Parakaran (Scribe) some Sevak of the

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
								Mahasuar 1 sara Khichudi, 1/2 Enduli, Puli – One Hansakuli—One Cangada-1 Gola anna. Caracaita-1 Gala anna. Mekapa-1 Gula Anna. Garabadu-1 gala anna. Parakaran-1 Gula anna.	day is taking his share.
8.	1.30 P.M	3.20 P.M.	Morning offering of Gopalunis (Bhubangswari's Sakala Dhupa).	Pujapanda Mahasuar Ghanta Patri	Pujapanda Mahasuar Ghanta	Khichudi 1/2 seer rice. Dal-1 Kudua Enduli-6 pieces.	Same	Pujapanda-1 Gula Khichudi, Enduli-1 no. Patri-Enduli-1 no. Rosapaika-2 Gula khichudi. Ghanta-4 Enduli	In 1900 the cost of Gopalini's daily food offering" was 2 annas. In 1962 though it has increased to Rs. 1.25 still the quality of food offered is inferior, compared to 1900. This is mainly due to the lack of supervision of the Temple Administration.
9	2 P.M.	3-40 P.M.	Chhatra Bhoga (Bhoga Mandap)	Paliabadu Pujapanda Pantibadu Patri Mahasuar Caracaita Garabadu Cangada	Paliabadu Pujapanda Patri Mahasuar Caracaita	Anna-3 small pots (15 chhataka rice). Deuali-1 no. Mencha-1 no. Mung Dal-1 Kudua.	Same	Paliabadu-Rice weighing 10 chhataka. Patri, Pujapanda -5 Chhataka rice. Dal-1/2 Kudua. Paliabadu Dal-1/2 Kudua Pujapanda and Patri.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10.	2-30 P.M.	4-30 P.M.	Bira Kesari Ballava	Pujapanda Patri Paliabadu Garabadu Pantibadu Caracaita Cangada	Pujapanda Patri Caracaita Mahasuar.	kakera-3 nos. Tipuri-1 no.	Same	Pujapanda-' Karera, Samartha-1 Kakera. Mahasuar-1 Kakera. Tipuri.	It is customary that SARAPANA should be of one full kudua. In 1962 there is no Sarapana but a piece of raw sugar mixed with water is offered to the deity.
11.	3 P.M.	5 P.M.	Mid-Day offering (Dipahar Dhupa)	Pujapanda Ghantua Kahalia Mahasuar Caracatta Garabadu Cangada Harapnaik Parvatisevak	Pujapanda Ghantua Kahalia Mahasuar Caracaita Parvatisevak	Thali anna-1 Mung Maricha Pani-2 kuduas Khiri-3 Olis. Khei—19 nos. Nadi-2 nos. Sarapana—1 Oli. Ghasajala—1 kudua. Kanti-1 no. Anna-1 mencha	Same	Khei : Pujapanda Puspanjali Patri Pantibadu Harapnaik Bhitarkhuntia Garabadu Faraka Samartha Gopalini Rajguru (Puri) (for 6 months only) Cangada Pasupalaka Caracaita Dhopakhal Chhata Trasa Each receive 1 khei. Akhanda. 2 nos. Anna :— Endowment-1 gula Patri-1 gula Paliabadu-1 gula Mung Marichapani,	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
								Ghasajala, Sara-pana Endowment. Caracaita-1 oli khiri. Mahasuar-2 Nadi, 1 Oli Khiri.	
12.	3-30 P.M.	5 P.M.	Paravati's Mid-day Food. (Bhubaneswari's Dipahar Dhupa).	Parvatisevak	Same	Kani-1 no. Annagula-1 no.	Same	Parvatisevak.	The items for this offering is not cooked separately for Parvati. After the food is offered to Lingaraj, the Parvati sevak brings One Kanti and One Anna gula from the offerings and represents before Parvati.
13.	7 P.M.	6-30 P.M.	Open screen Offering (Tera fita).	Pujapanda Patri Mahasuar Paliabadu Caracaita Garabadu Pantibadu	Pujapanda Patri Mahasuar Caracaita	Khei-4 nos.	Same	Endowment	The Endowments share in the food offerings are sold and the money is deposited in the Temple Treasury.
14.	8-30 P.M.	8 P.M.	Evening Food offering (Sandhya Dhupa).	Pujapanda Patri Mahasuar Parvatisevak Chhata Trasa Kahalia	Pujapanda Patri Parvatisevak Kahalia	Ludu-7 nos. Dahipakhal-2 Kudua.	Same less in quantity	Nadu :— Faraka-1 Pujapanda-1 Samartha-1 Abadhan-1 Mahasuar-3 Dahipakhal :— Parvatisevak-1 Mahasuar-1	In 1962 the amount of Nadu has been decreased.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15.	9.5 P.M.	8.15 P.M.	Bhubaneswari's Sandhya Dhupa (Evening offering of Gopaluni).	Pujapanda Patri Ghantua Mahasura Garabadu	Pujapanda Patri Ghantua Mahasuar	Dahipakhal-1 Kudua.	Same Less quantity.	Mahasuar	
16.	11 p.m. or 12 p.m.	9 p.m.	Great Dressing Offering (Bada Singhar Dhupa)	Mahasuar Pujapanda Patri Harapanaia Garabadu Caracaita	Mahasuar Pujapanda Patri Caracaita	Dahipokhal-1 Kundua Kharachura-2 nos. Takua-1 no. Kadalibhaja-4 pieces. Arisa-1 no. Ladu-1 no. Sakara-1 no.	Same Less quantity, Inferior quality.	Mahasuar Mekapa— Pakhaja and Sakara.	
17.	12-30 p.m.	9.30 p.m.	Puspanjali (Handful of Petals) to the deputy of Panchapatra.	Paliabadu Puspanjali Pujapanda Masalaci Chhata Trasa Patri	Pujapanda Patri	5 Gur koras	One Cine kora	Pujapanda Patri Paliapadu Puspanjali Caracaita.	In 1962 on Guda kora is supplied by the confectioner. Cini kora (One is being supplied for the purpose. This is taken by any Sevak.

VII

The following is a list of daily services in the Temple of Lingaraj on July 15, 1963. Though there is no service register in the Temple office as was in 1900 mentioning the daily services of 1962. The temple Peon in charge of the services gave me the following list of servants of this day consulting the service register of 1952.

Since 1953, this procedure is being followed by the temple Peon to settle the daily services of the Deity.

Sl. No.	*Name of the Service*	*Actual servant*	*Done by whom*
1.	Palia Badu	Dhanda Badu	Self
2.	Faraka	-do-	-do (Absent at night)
3.	Khataseja	-do-	-do-
4.	Pochha	-do-	-do-
5.	Pahada	-do-	-do-
6.	Pujapanda	Kasi Pujapanda	-do-
7.	Patri	Abhiram Garabadu	Binayak Mohasuar (Temple Peon)
8.	Panti Badu	-do-	-do-
9.	Garabadu	Dharmu Garabadu	-do-
10.	Hadapa Naik	Banamali Garabadu	-do-
11.	Bhitar Khuntia	Narayan Mahapatra	-do-
12.	Dhopakhala	Alekha Mahapatra	Adhu Mohapatra
13.	Cangada	Banamali Mohapatra	Binayak Mohasuar
14.	Chhata	Adhu Mahapatra	Self
15.	Trasa	Baidhar Samantara	Bhramar Mahapatra
16.	Pasupalaka	Kasi Mahasuar	-do-
17	Puspanjali	Jagu Padhiary	Siba Pujapanda
18	Mahasuar	Banamali Garabadu	Gangadhar Mahapatra
19	Paravati	Ramachandra Sangitra	Self
20.	Gopaluni	Narayan Badu	Arjuna Garabadu
21.	Mekapa	Madhab Mekapa	Self
22.	Characheita	Ghanashyam Panda	Self

23.	Akhanda	Trilochan Panda	Self
24.	Kotha Bhoga Bisoyi	Kulamani Garabadu	Arjuna Garabadu
25.	Gudia	Chintamani Bisoyi	Self
26	Masala	Laxmi Bewa	-do-
27.	Rosa Paika	Banchhanidhi Samartha	Self
28.	Ghanta	Banchhanidhi Samartha	Self
29.	Samartha	Gaura Samartha	-do-
30.	Madala	-do-	-do-
31.	Jautisa	Balakrishna Naik	Absent
32.	Kahalia	Daitari Mahapatra	Son
33.	Dhoba	Jaga Sethi	Absent
34.	Masalaci	Pitabasa Barika	-do-
35.	Kumbhar	Bhaskar Muduli	Self

35 different sevas were performed in the Temple on this day. The service (Telenga) is ommitted due to the death of the incumbent.

The services of the above day was observed by me personally.

Source :
B. Mahasuar
(Temple Peon)

VIII

REQUIREMENTS OF TEMPLE FESTIVALS

Yama dutiya

Coconuts—3 nos.
Rice—1/4 seer.
Muan 22 nos.
Polanga oil—1 seer.
Betel leaf and areca nuts—6 pieces.
New cloth—1 no.

Rs. 8-15-6 pies

Uthapana Caturdasi

Rice—3/4 seer
Coconuts—2 nos.
Pancamruta
Muan—11 nos.
Betel leaf and areca nuts ?
Polanga oil—2 1/2 chhatakas

Rs. 7-4-4½ pies

Prathamastami

Coconut—3 nos.
Rice—1/2 seer
Muan—22 nos.
Panchamrûta—worth 2 annas
Betel leaf and areca nuts—worth 6 pies
Polanga oil—1 seer
New cloth—1

Rs. 9-1-6 pies.

Pravaran Sasthi

Coconuts—3 nos.
Rice—3/4 seer.
Muan—44 nos.
Pancamruta—worth 2 annas
Betel leaf and areca nut—worth 6 pies
New cloth—Rs. 48/-

Rs. 48-15-6 pies.

Dhanu Mâs (Sagittarious) Morning food offering

In this month the first food offering of Lingaraj was/is finished before the day break.

Rice—1 Mana (About 1/2 seer)
Milk—worth one anna
Fuel—1 anna
Polanga oil—6 pies. Daily expenditure—2 annas 6 pies.

Baula Amabasya

Rice—1 seer
Coconut—1 no
Salt—1 1/2 pies
Khanda (Powdered raw sugar)—2 1/2 chhatakas
Milk—1 seer
Fuel—2 annas. Total Rs. 1-5-4 1/2 P.

Pusyaviseka

Cocoanut—3 nos.
Rice—1 Seer
Pancamruta—2 annas
Muan—22 nos.
Betel nut and betel leaves—6 pies
New clothes—5 nos. Total Rs. 30-9 annas

The above expenditures were procured from an old record of the Temple (Date unknown).

Source : Temple Office, Bhubaneswar

IX

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SEVAKAS

M. Mahapatra,
Temple Study Date

1. Do you want to change any of your occupations ? Yes/No. If yes, which. Give reasons for your answer.
2. If it were possible to choose, in addition/in place of temple service which occupations you will prefer.
   (a) Is the preferred occupation, in addition to temple service or in place of temple service ?
3. What occupation do you want your only/1st/2nd/3rd/4th son to take up ?

4. In case nobody in your family would like to or qualified to carry out traditional temple services would you like to alternate arrangement ? Or, discontinue ? Yes/No.
5. Whom would you like to officiate for the services render by your family members ?
6. Please state which is more advantageous (a) to live in joint family with married brothers ? Or (b) to live in a family with your children apart from your married brothers.
   Elaborate your answer.
7. Will you let your children, brothers, sisters or other relatives marry from castes equivalent to yours, but not connected with Lingaraj Temple Services ? Yes/No.
   Specify.
8. Specify the equivalent castes and higher castes (and note) with which already marriages with your caste people have taken place ?
9. Whether any such alliances were freely permitted in the past ? If so since when (Specify for each caste).
10. Note what type of punishments were imposed before this date for marrying castes specified in the previous quest (9).
11. How do you arrange for performances of temple services at the Lingaraj temple assigned to your family (a to another

	Siblings	Outsiders
(i) adhoc substitution		
(il) Temporary substitution		
(iii) Permanent substitution		

12. Under the changed circumstances of life, do you think your Niyoga or Jatian Sabha can be of any use to your caste people, Yes/No.
    (a) Elaborate the answer
13 Would you say, that Nijoga/Jatian Sabha has lost its former importance. If so what do you think are mainly responsible for this state of affairs ?

X

CHHATISA PATAKA (lit. 36 Castes)

The entire Hindu universe is divided into four different caste groups such as :— Brahmin, Karana, Vaisa, Sudra. All the castes (Fourfold division) have their respective divisions and sub-divisions. The Sudras are again sub-divided into 36 different categories and this is known as the "Chhatisa Pataka". In English this term means Chhatisa (36) and Pataka (Castes) adopting different businesses in the market (Hata). The thirty-six sub-sections amongst the Sudras. Each Pataka has a social organisation and this analyses the rules and regulations of the Castes and punishes the erring members. Following is a list of the 36 different sub-sections of the Sudra order.

1. Gauda—Milkman—4 sections (Magadha, Mathura puria, Gopa puria, Dumala).
2. Bhandari-Barber—2 sections : Kana Muthia and Chama Muthia.
3. Badhei—Carpenter
4. Kama (Blacksmith)
5. Dhoba—Washerman
6. Tanti (Weaver)
7. Potali Bania-Luggage goldsmith (itinerant spice seller)
8. Nayaka-2 sections—Mati Bansa and Khadi Bansa.
9. Tula Bhina—Cotton worker
10. Teli—Oilman
11. Tamili (Tambuli)—Betel dealer
12. Oda (lit. Fool)—A section of the Casa·
13. Casa—Cultivator
14. Gola—?
15. Keuta—Fisherman
16. Mali—Florist caste
17. Sundhi—Boot Legger, or Distiler
18. Sankhari—Bangle seller
19. Kharuda—Bell metal dealer
20. Patara—Dealer of coloured yarns (Pata)

21. Kansari—Brass maker
22. Thatari—Bell metal maker
23. Pathuria—Stone worker
24. Baisya Bania—?
25. Kachara—Glass maker
26. Gudia—Confectioner
27. Daraji—Tailor
28. Malha—?
29. Rangani—Weaver
30. Tambari—Copper dealer
31. Lunia—Salt maker
32. Thodia—?
33. Rasara—?
33. Buna—Weaver (?)

Disclaimer of accuracy

The scheduled castes like the Bauris, Hadis, Dama, Chamaras etc. do not come under this Pataka list as they uncivilised (Anarya).

Source : Purna Chandra Odia Bhasa Kosa
by
Late Gopal Chandra Praharaj
Vol. III, 1933, Pg. 2769

GLOSSARY

Abhiseka—Royal investure

Asokastami—One of the 14 major festivals (Jatras) in Lingaraj Temple, Car festival,

Amin—Surveyor

Anabadi—Fallow land

Alati—Waving of light

Akbada—Rehersal house, Rehersal ground

Adharpana—Sweetened drink offered to the deities while they are on the car during car festival.

Abira—Coloured powder used during Holi festival

Alatā—Red stain.

Bhadralok—Gentleman wise older.

Bhanaja—Nephew

Bhanaji—Neice.

Barajatri—Bride grooms party.

Badasinghar Besa—Dressing of the deity during the last food offering.

Bethi—Free forced Labour

Bheti—Presentation.

Badu—Non-Brahman—Temple priest

Bhagari—Kinsman

Bodia—Remuneration in kind.

Beherana—Raised plat-form.

Banata—Coloured cloth used in the car

Bhogamandap—Hall of offering.

Biswakarma—Creator of universe

Bhagabat—Sacred Krisna story book.

Bhaga—Cash remuneration paid annually to the temple confectioner.

Chhata—Umbrella

Chandana—A type of land.

Chahali—Village school.

Chhatrabhoga—Public food offering.

Chanda—Subscription.

Chauthi—Honeymoon, 4.

Chitrakar—Painter.

Chhera Panhara—Cermonial sweeping the Deity's Car during Asokastami Car festival.

Chapa—Barge.

Debottar—Endowments to deity
Dhokal—Ceremonial cleaning of the Temple
Dudha—Milk
Dahi—Curd
Dālābhog—Food offering to the deity in a basket container
Dhulia—To Realise some profit which is not one's own
Deula—Temple
Dakshina—Cash remuneration to the priests

Ekagharikia—Social boycott

Faraka—The Bada sevaka who sleeps in the temple at night

Garuda—Vehicle of Vishnu (Bird)
Ghrutakamal—A Jar full of ghee
Ghanta—Gong, Bell
Gumasta—Clerk, Assistant to Tirtha Pandas
Ghoda—Horse
Gosaganeswar—Name of a sacred tank to which Lingaraj visits every year on the Durgastami day

Halua Brahman—Inferior Brahman caste
Haladipani—Turmeric water—21st day of the sandle festival

Jatiana Sabha—Caste council
Jagar—Favourite Festival of Siva
Jagamohan—Hall of Audience

Kshetra—Sacred place
Kaudibhagia—Temple Accountant
Khatuli—A movable wooden structure used as the seat of deity
Khai—Puffed sugar coated candy
Khei—Remuneration of the priests in kind
Kora—Sugar Candy
Kshetrabasi Brahman—Highest caste of brahmin
Khatani—Service day in the Temple
Kotha Rosa—Kitchen where the temple menu is cooked
Kala Bethia—Non-Brahmin temple functionary paid only in kind
Kotha—Joint, common

Mahaprasad—Food of grace
Mali—Florist Caste
Mahadipa—Great lamp taken to the temple spire on the 14th day of each fortnight
Mouza—Revenue village

Mohari—Clerk
Mekap—Temple store keeper
Minha—A type of land holding
Mahasuar—Great cooks—Surname of the temple cooks
Meghadambaru—Umbrella shaped in signia carried in the procession of the deity
Makar caula—Mixture of newly harvested rice, raw sugar spices etc.
Masāla—Torch carried by the barber servant in the deity's procession
Mangan—Day before the marriage ceremony
Mahanta—Abbot
Mandapa—Platform
Muan—Ball of raw sugar coated puffed paddy
Mahakhala—A spacious place
Meghadambaru—A kind of big umbrella

Nandi—Vehicle of Siva (Bull)
Nuakhia—New eating ceremony
Niskar—Tax free
Nayabadi—A land type
Niyoga—Caste council of the leading temple functionaries.
Natamandir—Hall of dance

Panchadi—Member of the Panchayat
Parakaran—Scribe
Parichha—Honorary Superintendent
Pattadar—A land type
Panchayat—Committee of the five
Pujapanda - Offered
Pali—Service day in the Temple
Palinki—Palanquine
Palinki Apata—Carriers of palanquines
Pratistha—Purification
Panchamruta—Five nectars (Ghee, Honey, Sugar, Curd)
Paita—Sacred thread used by the brahmans.

Raja Guru—Royal preceptor
Rangani - Weaver
Ratha Jatra—Car festival

Sakti—Circular base on which the lingam is kept
Sevaka—Temple functionary, service renderer
Sthitiban—A land type

Singhasan – Throne
Sarapana – Sweetened milk
Suansiya—Labour appointed by the Temple to clean the premises
Saradar Maharana – Chief Carpenter
Sahi – Hamlet
Satapuri – Cream of seven pulses
Sankirtana – Recitation of the name of God accompanied by music

Tirtha – Holy place
Trasa—A fan shaped insignia carried in royal procession.
Tahasildar – Officer in charge of Temple land holdings.
Tirtha Panda – Priests of holy places
Trisakha – Trident shaped light carried in deitys procession.

Ukhudâ – Puffed paddy coated in sugar or raw sugar

Vaidya – Royal Physician
Viman – Float used in the temple procession to carry the deities

Yamuna – Sacred River

INDEX

ERRATUM

Pg. No.	*Correct words*
1.	Identities
1.	Orissan Empire
3.	Ruled
3.	26 Princely states
4.	Rajas Contributed
6.	to be the Synthesis
7.	Deity
12.	Traditional structure and change
20.	Bhanaja
20.	Family
24.	In an interview
29.	This monastery held 96,323 acres of tax free lan
31.	Public Complaints
31.	Completion
33.	E. C.
33.	Officials
34.	Is vested in and
35.	Instances
36.	Estate
41.	From 1900 to 1962
42.	Framed
44.	Cared for and consulted
45.	Form
45.	Bakhia mandap
79.	Bada Tota.
79.	Pandav brothers
80.	Feast
82.	Parties
86.	Recipients
87.	for worship or to offer Puja in the Temple
89.	New clothes
94.	Streamlet
99.	Says
100.	Go out and to supply
102.	Pulling of the ears

Pg. No.	*Correct words*
102.	with the old woman she said to me
110.	Introduced at a later stage
111.	Cultivating caste (casa)
112.	Was
112.	Ex-landlords
123.	Religious
128.	He
129.	Parvan
130.	Consanguineal
131.	Every year received
136.	Ananta Vasudev
141.	(Akhada)

TABLES, DIAGRAMS
AND
PLATES

Table I

STAFF OF LINGARAJ TEMPLE 1897

Serial No.	Designation	No. of posts	Duties	Caste	Salary per month
1.	Pancayat	4	Overall supervision of Temple Endowment and Internal administration of the Temple.	2 Badu 2 Suar	Rs. 0.13.4 pies each
2.	Parakaran	1	Maintenance of Temple and office records and looked after the Accounts	Karan	Rs. 3.2 annas
3.	Jamadar	1	Keep peace in the inner sanctum – inform the sevakas about their duties	Karan	Rs. 4.0.0
4.	Dwari (Temple)	2	Keep watch at the main entrance to the Temple	Casa	Rs. 3.0.0 each
5.	Temple Sweeper	1	Sweeping the Temple and office premises	Casa	Rs. 3.0.0
6.	Telenga Musician	2	Play Orchestral music during food offerings	Telenga	Rs. 2.8 each
7.	Viman Apata	8	Carry the Float of the Deity on festive occasions	Casa	Rs. 1.8 for all
8.	Palinki Apata	4	Carry the palanquin on festive days	Gauda	Rs. 0.8 annas
9.	Gachha Kata	1	Cut the trees etc. on the Temple	Samartha	Rs. 0.8 annas
10.	Masalachi	1	Holds the torch at night in the Hall of audience daily in the evening	Bhandari	Rs. 0.2.9
11.	Dhoba	2	Washes the clothes of the Deity	Dhoba	Rs. 0.3 annas each
12.	Kahalia	1	Blows the trumpet during food offering	Khandayat	Rs. 3.8

1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Chaparasi	1	Watches the inner sanctum of the Temple	Chasa	Rs. 3.8
14.	Daraji	1	Makes the Garments of the Deity	Daraji	Rs. 0.9 annas
15.	Barakandaz	16	They are a body of people who assist in preserving order outside the Temple during Car festival and to keep barriers at the Temple gates to prevent a rush of pilgrims	Chasa	Rs. 3.0 for all
16.	Netraullal	1	Cleans the eyes of the Deity (Lingaraj) every morning	Suar	Rs. 0.7.9 pies
17.	Padhiary	1	Carries the special food offerings to the Raja of Puri	Suar	Rs. 0.5 annas
18.	Khatuli Apata	1	Carry the wooden seat (Khatuli) of the Deity outside the Temple compound on festive days when the deities go out	Samartha	Rs. 0.13.4 pies
19.	Khapara Kadha	1	Cleans the broken cooking and used pots fallen here and there in the temple compound	Gauda	Rs. 0.13.4 pies
20.	Danda Jhadu	2	Sweeps the roads around the Temple compound	Hadi Sweeper Sch. Caste	Rs. 2.0.0 each

Source
Acquittance Roll of Lingaraj Temple office 1897

Table 2

STAFF OF LINGARAJ TEMPLE

Year	Total strength	Superintendent	Executive Officer	Manager	Amin	Tahasildar	Clerk	Jamadar	Chowkidar	Suansiya	Dwari	Khaparakadha	Gachhakata	Khatuli	Barakandaz	Khatuli Apata	Peon	T.S.	Sweeper
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1897-1925	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	16	1	1	25	3
1926-1935	53	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	16	1	1	25	3
1936	31	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	6	13	1
1937	31	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	6	13	1
1938	24	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	1
1939	25	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	1
1940	26	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	1
1941	28	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	13	1
1942-48	Records missing in the Temple office																		
1949	22	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	1
1950	22	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	1
1951	22	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	1
1952	21	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	1
1953 (Jan)	24	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	2
																		T–1	
1953 (Feb)	27	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	2
1954-56	Records missing in the Temple office																		
1957	26	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	2
1968	26	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	2
1959	28	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	12	2
1960-61	26	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	2
1962	27	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	2
																			L.A.

T.S.—Traditional Sevaka
T—Typist
L.A—Law Account

Table 3

BACKGROUND TRAINING, LENGTH OF SERVICES OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF LINGARAJ TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Serial No.	Designation	Background Training	Length of Services	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1.	*Superintendent	—	1926 to 1935 August	No information
2.	Manager	Matriculation, previous experience of Estate Management	1936 Sep to 1938 Feb	Resigned due to old age
3.	Manager	Class VIII, Formerly President, Bhubaneswar Union Board	1938 Jun to 1944 Nov	Resigned to join Civil Service
4.	Tahasildar (acting Manager)	Class VIII, Experience in Estate Management, Ex-Tahasildar	1944 Dec to 1945 Dec	He was officiating as such when the post was vacant.
5.	Manager	Matriculation, Retired Civil servant.	1947 Dec to Jan 1953	Resigned
6.	Manager	Same as item 4, he was first suspended from the job and again reinstated. -do-	-do-	-do-
7.	Executive Officer	Class VII. Experience of Estate Management, Formerly Manager of a Math	1953 Feb to 1956 Jun	Transferred as such
8.	-do-	B.A., Author of several Oriya books	1959 Nov to 1960 Jan	Resigned
9.	-do-	Matriculation, Retired Civil Surgeon	1960 Feb to 1961 Jan	Resigned
10.	-do-	Matriculation, Retired Police Inspector of an ex-State	1961 Jan to 1962 Mar	Transferred
11.	do-	Formerly Tahasildar of Nayagarh State	1962 Feb to 1964 Mar	Resigned due to difference of opinion with E.C.

* There was no post of Manager before 1917 the Amins (Surveyors) supervised the office work.

Source—Endowment Acquittance Roll

Table 4

MEMBERS IN THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Year	No. of persons		Birth place	Caste	Occupation	Education	Background training	Remarks
1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8
1900-35			Records missing in the Temple office					
1936	3	i)	Sidheswarpur Cuttack (Dt.)	Brahman	Advocate	B.L.	Eminent pleader, Patron of art and literature	1936-40 expired
		ii)	Bhingarpur Puri (Dt.)	-do-	Land Lord	B.A.	Experienced Land Lord	1936-40 Resigned
		iii)	Jhansi district (U.P.)	-do-	Mahanta of Emar Math, Puri	Kaiser-i-Hind Gold-medalist	Sanskrit Scholar, Elected to Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, sometimes honorary Magistrate, Puri	-do-
1937-40			Same as 1936					
1941	3	i)	Balakati, Puri (Dt.)	Vaisya	Land Lord	B.A.B.L.	Advocate, Zemindar, M.L.A.	1941-52 Resigned
		ii)	Puri town	Karan	-do-	-do-	Advocate, Sometimes Advocate-General, Orissa	1941-51 Resigned
		iii)	Balianta Puri (Dt.)	Khandayat	-do-	B.A.	Land Lord	1941-59 Died
1942-43	3		Same as 1941					
1944	3	i)	Same as 1941 (i)					
		ii)	Same as 1941 (ii)					
		iii)	Puri town	Karan	Civil servant	B.L.	Retired District and Session Judge	1944 Resigned

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1945	3	i) Same as 1941 (i)					
		ii) Same as 1941 (ii)					
		iii) Cuttack town	Karan	Advocate	B.L.	Advocate in Orissa High Court	1945-51 Resigned
1946-51	3			Same as 1945			
1952	5	i) Cuttack	Karan	Civil Servant	B.A.	Retired I.A.S.	1952 (Trustee Board dissolved)
		ii) Same as 1941 (i)					
		iii) Same as 1941 (iii) (Reappointed)					
		iv) Bheda Cuttack (Dt)	Brahman	Land Lord	B.A.	Land Lord	1952-53 (Board dissolved)
		v) Cuttack	Karan	Advocate,	B.L.	Advocate, Orissa High Court	-do-
1953	3	Same as 1952 (i, iii and iv)					
1954	3	i) Same as 1941 (iii)					
		ii) Same as 1945 (iii)					
		iii) Naragada Puri (Dist.)	Khandayat		Matricu-lation	Land Lord	1953-62
1955	4	Same as 1953 (i, ii and iii)					
		iv) Badagad Puri (Dt.)	Karan	Sub-Land Lord	Matricu-lation	Sub-Land Lord	1955-60
1956-57	4	Same as 1955					
1958	5	i) Same as 1936 (ii)					
		ii) Same as 1953 (iii)					
		iii) Same as 1941 (iii)					
		iv) Same as 1955 (iv)					
		v) Kapilprasad Puri (Dt.)	Khanda-yat	Retd. Civil Servant	B.Sc.	Retd. District Forest Officer	1958-60 (Resigned)

Table 5

FOURTEEN MAJOR FESTIVALS

Sl. No.	Sanskrit name of the festivals	Oriya names	Local month	English equivalent	Pakshya Fortnight	Day
1.	Prathamastami	Podhuan Astami	Margasira	Nov-Dec	Dark half	8th day after full moon
2.	Pravaran Sasthi	Odhana Sasthi	-do-	-do-	Bright half	6th day after new moon
3.	Pusyaviseka	Same as the Sanskrit name	Pausa	Dec-Jan	-do-	Full moon day
4.	Makara Sankranti	Same	Magha	Jan-Feb	Either bright or dark half	1st day of the Fortnight
5.	Magha Saptami	Same	-do-	-do-	bright half	7th day after newmoon
6.	Sivaratri	Jagar	Falguna	Feb-Mar.	Dark half	14th day after full-moon
7.	Asokastami	Same	Caitra	Mar-Apr	Bright half	8th day after newmoon
8.	Damanaka Caturdasi	Da-a-na-chori	-do-	-do-	-do-	14th day after new moon
9.	Akshyaya Trutiya	Same	Baisakha	Apr-May	-do-	3rd day after newmoon
10.	Parsuram Astami	Same	Asadha	June-July	-do-	8th day after newmoon
11.	Sayana Caturdasi	Same	-do-	-do-	-do-	14th day after new-moon
12.	Pabitra Ropana	Same	Sravana	July-Aug	-do-	14th day after new-moon
13.	Yama dutiya	Same	Kartika	Aug-Sep	-do-	2nd day after newmoon
14.	Uthapana Caturdasi	Same	Kartika	Aug-Sep	-do-	14th day after new-moon

Table—2

Table 6

NINE MINOR FESTIVALS

Sl. No.	Sanskrit name of festivals	Oriya names	Local month	English months (equivalent)	Fortnight (Pakshya)	Day
1.	Saraswati Puja	Same	Magha	Jan-Feb	Bright half	5th day after newmoon
2.	Bhaumi Ekadashi	Bhima Ekadashi	Magha	Jan-Feb	Bright half	11th day after the new moon
3.	Kapila Yatra	Handi bhanga Yatra	Falguna	Feb-Mar	Bright half	1st Saturday after Sivaratri
4.	Dola Purnami	Same	-do-	-do-	Bright half	15th day after new moon
5.	Siva Bibaha	Dian Bibha	Jestha	May-June	Bright half	5th day after newmoon
6.	Janmastami	Krishna Janma or Hari Janma	Bhadrab	Aug-Sept	Dark half	8th day after fullmoon
7.	Durgastami	Same	Aswina	Sept-Oct	Bright half	8th day after newmoon

Table 7

SERVICES AND CASTES OF TEMPLE POSITIONS

S—Sevaka K—Kalabethia

Sl. No.	Office	Eng. Equivalent	Caste	Sevak of Kalabethia.
1.	Kshetrabasi	Sacred place dwellers	Danua Brahman	S
2.	Pujapanda	Offerend	Pujapanda Brahman	S
3.	Mahasuar	Cook	Suar Brahman	S
4.	Badu	Deity Servant	Assimilated Brahman	S
5.	Abadhan	Astrologer	Sudra	S
6.	Parakaran	Scribe	Karan	S
7.	Gauda	Milkman	Guada	S
8.	Gudia Bisoyi	Confectioner	Gudia	S
9.	Masala	Supplier of spices	Putuli bania	S
10.	Badhei	Carpenter	Badhei	K
11.	Kamara	Blacksmith	Kamara	K
12.	Trisakha	Holder of trident flames	Teli	K
13.	Masalachi	Torch bearer	Barika	S
14.	Keuta	Boat rower	Keuta	K
15.	Kumbara	Potter	Kumbar	S
16.	Samartha	The able one	Casa	S
17.	Rathapaika	Chariot attendant	Case	K
18.	Daraji	Tailor	Daraji	S
19.	Kahalia	Trumpeteer	Khandayat	S
20.	Palinki Apata	Palanquin bearer	Guda	K
21.	Biman Apata	Float Carrier	Casa	K
22.	Dhoba	Washerman	Dhoba	S
23.	Telenga	Telugu musician	Non-Oriya	S
24.	Bauri	Sch. Caste	Sch. Caste	S
25.	Hadi	Sweeper	Sch. Caste	S
26.	Kotha bhoga Bisoyi	Supplier of daily ration	Suar in 1962	S
27.	Ratha Kalasi	Charioteer	Suar	S
28.	Pani bala	Water supplier Non-Hereditary	Gauda	S
29.	Paraba jatra Bisoyi	Festival cook	Suar	S
30.	Bhahar devatanka phulapani	Worshipper of outside deities	Suar	S

Table 8

PAYMEMTS TO KSHETRABASIS FOR SACRED SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Frequency	Surnames to whom assigned	Remunerations 1900	1962
1.	Oblation fire (Homa)	Once a month	All	1 annas cash, 1/2 seer rice	8 annas cash, 1/2 seer rice
2.	Purification ceremony of the Car	Once a year	All	4 annas cash, rice, a new dhoti cocoanuts	4 rupees plus materials
3.	Wedding of Lingaraj	Once a year	All	8 annas, a feast, rice, cocoanuts	5 rupees in cash and materials
4.	Assisting the Rajguru	Once a year	Tripathi	Re. 1 and a dhoti	7 rupees and a dhoti
5.	Parvan worship of Gopalini and Gouri	Once a year	Misra	Rs. 2, daily free food for 15 days	Rs. 20 and daily free food
6.	Temple purification	Occasional	All	2 annas	Rs. 2/-
7.	Daily reading of the Veda	Daily	Tripathi	Extra plot of tax free land	Same
8.	Purana reading near Gopalini	Daily	Dash	8 annas per annum	Rs. 12 per annum

Table

PAYMENTS TO KSHETRABASIS FOR FAMILY SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Whom assigned	Remunerations 1900	1962
1.	Samkalpa	All	1 pice to 1 anna	1 anna to 1 rupee
2.	Fire Sacrifice (Homa)	All	1 anna, 1/2 seer rice	8 annas, 1/2 seer rice
3.	Pinda offering	All	1 anna to 1 rupee, a sidha*	2 rupees, a sidha
4.	Marriage, Sacred thread, funeral ceremonies	All	2 to 5 rupees, a dhoti, sidha	10 to 20 rupees, a dhoti, a siddha
5.	Tarpana (libation of water)	All	2 pices to 1 anna sidha	8 annas to 2 rupees, sidha
6.	Purificatory ceremony of new houses etc.	All	8 annas, a meal	6 rupees and a meal
7.	Ear piercing	All	1 rupee, rice cocoanut a napkin	5 rupees, materials same as 1900
8.	Puja in clients' houses	All	4 annas cash, a meal	ruppees, a meal

*Sidha—Uncooked food material like rice, dal, vegetables, ghee, salt and spices.

Table 10

PAYMENTS TO BARBERS FOR SECULAR SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Remunerations 1900	1962
1.	Ear-piercing	8 annas, a new dhoti, part of the puja material, Sundried rice, cocoanut, a meal	5 rupees plus puja materials
2.	Sacred-Investiture	2 rupees in cash, Part of Puja materials,* a new dhoti and a meal	20 rupees in cash and other materials as of 1900
3.	Marriage	10 rupees from both sides, 4 meals - part of puja materials, a dhoti and a saree	Rs. 30 – 50 from both sides plus puja materials as of 1900
4.	Funeral	5 rupees, a new dhoti, a saree, 4 meals-used clothes of the bereaved kings on the ritual bath on the 10th day	15 rupees plus materials as of 1900. Instead of the used clothes, they now collect money from the bereaved king.
5.	Hair cut	1 anna per head, 1 pice per face sometimes paid in kind once a year	8 annas per head, 4 annas per face. No payment in cash

*Puja materials consist of Sundried rice, vegetables, cocoanuts, ripe plantain etc.

Table 11

REMUNERATIONS OF DHOBAS FOR RITUAL SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Remunerations 1900	1962
1.	Washing, Ironing clothes	1 pice per piece Festive gratuity	25 paisa per piece
2.	Washing menstrual clothes	1/2 pice per cloth and 1/4th seer of rice	12 paisa per cloth 1/4 seer of rice
3.	Washing matal clothes	4 annas cash, 2 seers rice, a meal	5 rupees cash, rice, dal, vegetables etc. instead of the meal
4.	Funeral	1 rupee cash, 2 seers rice, a meal	5 rupees, a Sidha and a new dhoti
5.	Opening the uterus of the deceased expectant mothers	1 rupees cash	5 rupees cash

Table 12

REMUNERATIONS OF BAURIS FOR SACRED SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Remuneration 1900	1962
1.	Ceremonial cuttings of the first log for the deity's Car	4 annas cash, new dhoti, a part of the food offering	2 rupees in cash and a new dhoti
2.	Road repairing	4 annas per head per day	This work has been stopped, as the paddy field through which the Car passed has been metalled by the N. A. C.
3.	Brakesman of the Car	4 annas, new dhoti, a feast	2 rupees per day, a new dhoti
4.	Cleaning the Temple compound wall etc.	1 anna per head per day, 1/4 seer of rice.	No service, since the Temple has been taken over by the A.S.O.I.

Table 13

PAYMENTS FOR BAURI SECULAR SERVICES

Sl. No.	Services	Remunerations 1900	1962
1.	Mason	Nil	Rs. 5 per day
2.	Stone dressing	Nil	Rs. 3 per day
3.	Stone quarrying	2-3 annas per day	Rs. 2 per day (average)
4.	Wage Labour	Male—6 annas	Rs. 3 per day
		Female—2 annas	Rs. 2 per day
5.	Agricultural labour	Male – 2 annas cash 2 measures paddy	Rs. 3 cash
		Female— -do-	Rs. 2 cash
6.	Nursing females	2 annas cash, new saree, free fooding for the days engaged	Services not required due to widespread hospitalisation
7.	Domestic and plough servant	Rs. 30 per annum, New dhoti etc., free food	Rs. 120 per annum free food, new dhoti
8.	Rickshaw pulling	Nil	Rs. 3 per day average
9.	Shop keeping	Nil	Rs. 2 – 3 per day
10.	Band party	Nil	Rs. 10 per annum

Table 14

MAIN OCCUPATIONS OF SEVAKAS

Sl.	Engagements	Brahman	Badu	Others	Sch. Castes
1.	Civil Service	15	2	4	9
2.	Private Service	1	1	3	1
3.	Business	8	1	5	0
4.	Day labour	0	0	3	3
5.	Pilgrim Pandas	10	1	0	0
6.	Temple Services	7	0	5	All*

*The Sch. Castes are willing to perform Temple services, since they are paid daily wages for the number of days engaged.

Table 15

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION OF THE SEVAKAS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

Caste	Like to educate son	Try for sons education	No need of education	Service	Civil Service-Temple Service
Brahmans	29	2	0	25	6
Badu	5	0	0	4	1
Others	13	2	0	6	6
Sch. Cast	9	0	2	3	3

Table 16

EDUCATION AMONG SEVAKAS*

Nature of education	Brahman	Badu	Others	Sch Castes
Illiterate	5	3	10	5
M. E.	10	1	5	4
H. E.	12	1	5	0
Higher	4	0	0	0

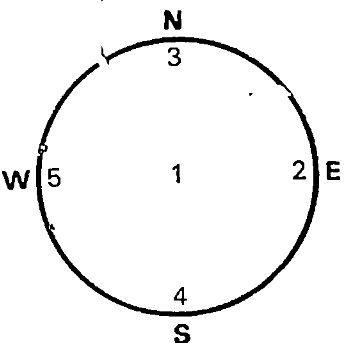
*Date of 1962

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF JOINT AND NUCLEAR FAMILIES AMONG THE SEVAKAS

Type of families	Brahman	Badu	Others	Sch. Caste
Joint	6	1	5	0
Nuclear	20	2	8	9
Prefer Joint but stay in Nuclear	5	2	7	0

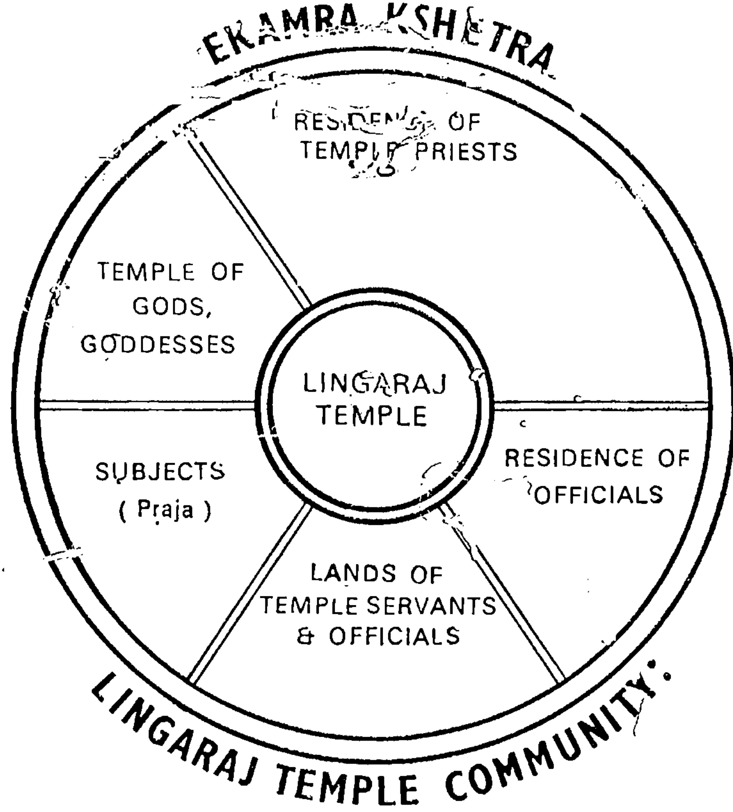
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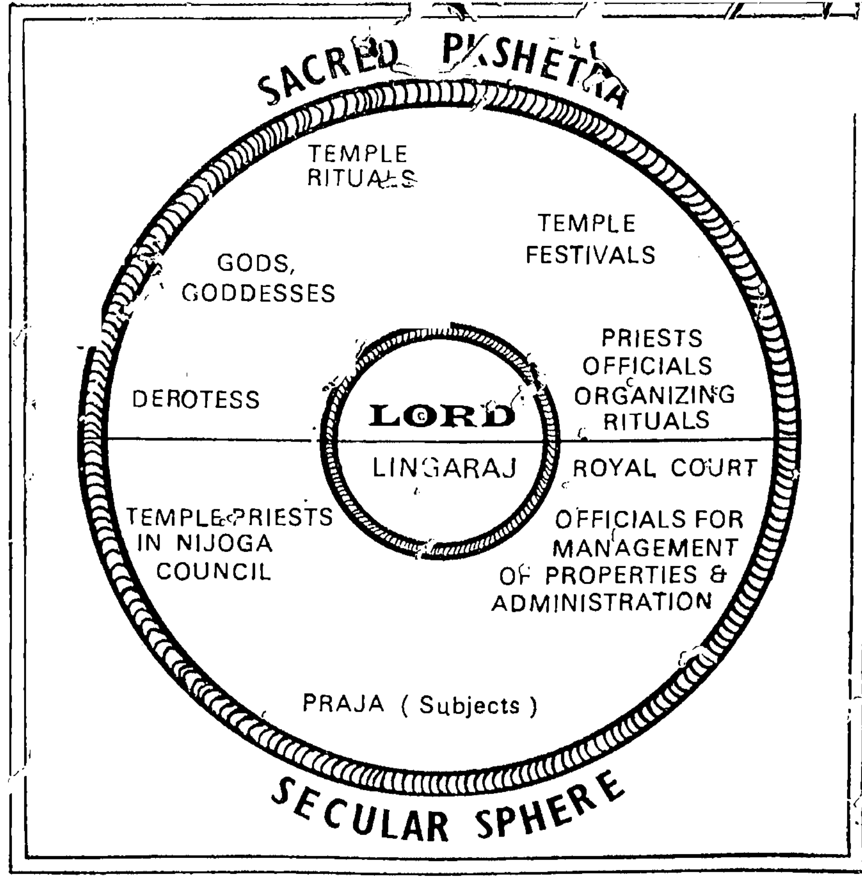
Key

1. Lingaraj Temple
2. Kundaleswar Temple
3. Balahadevi Temple
4. Bahirangeswar Temple
5. Khandagiri Hills

DIAGRAM



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LINGARAJ TEMPLE COMMUNITY
SACRED AND SECULAR SPHERES

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